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THE CHICAGO PRIMARY OF 1926

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The Chicago Primary of 1926

A Study in Election Methods

By
CARROLL HILL WOODY



The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois

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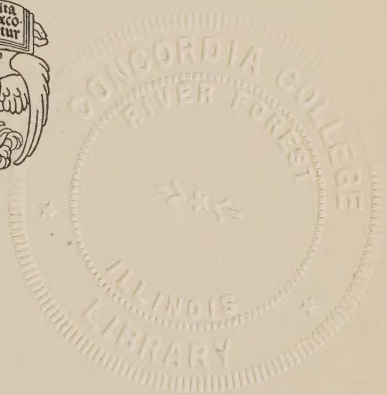
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CARROLL HILL WOODY, PH.D.

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PREFACE

This study is an effort to present a realistic picture of Chicago politics as typified by the process of nominating candidates. Though concerned chiefly with a single election, it deals with a situation richly illustrative of the nature of human political behavior, and significantly illuminates the problem of the nature and limits of popular government. The study was approached without prepossessions and from the objective point of view of the political scientist. Its presentation is reportorial in style, an attempt having been made to preserve the genuine flavor of the situation without sacrificing impartiality and authenticity.

In attempting to sketch in, *de novo*, so broad a canvas as that afforded by the politics of metropolitan Chicago, the author has inevitably fallen into many errors of detail, unwarranted inferences, and unsupported conclusions. For these he craves the indulgence of his readers. As far as time and resources permitted, all aspects of this campaign were examined; but many problems were encountered which could be scarcely more than stated, and numbers of important factors no doubt escaped unperceived.

While newspaper citations have been given in confirmation of controversial statements, the study was in the main a first-hand observation. Reformers, leaders of civic groups, practicing politicians, candidates, representatives of the press, and the "man in the street" were

all laid under contribution, and to all who aided the author in his quest for enlightenment he here expresses his appreciation. To two persons he owes an especial debt of gratitude. Dr. Charles E. Merriam, Chairman of the Department of Political Science in the University of Chicago, suggested the study and, with his unrivaled knowledge of the political process, aided greatly in giving it form and direction. Dr. Leonard D. White, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago, read the entire manuscript and made valuable suggestions. Without his unfailing encouragement and assistance, the book could not have appeared. In addition, on account of the author's absence in Europe, he accepted the responsibility for seeing it through the press. Neither of these gentlemen is in any way accountable for errors found in the book, which are chargeable entirely to the author. On the other hand, they must largely share in the credit for any merit it may possess.

CARROLL H. WOODY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
AUGUST 30, 1926

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INTRODUCTION

After a century's experience with formal methods of nomination to elective office, the air is still filled with disputes over the relative merits of various nominating devices, a dispute now focusing on the virtues and vices of the direct primary. Too often the critics and defenders of the direct primary content themselves with a superficial and limited view of the many conditioning factors which so profoundly affect the success or failure of any system of making nominations. It is not enough to point to an obvious miscarriage of civic intelligence to condemn a nominating method; a serious student of political institutions will also insist upon knowing the total situation out of which developed a given result.

A hasty reader of Dr. Wooddy's illuminating analysis of the Chicago primary of 1926 will miss one of the important contributions of the study. Back of the shifting tides of political warfare one must follow Dr. Wooddy to an understanding of the fundamental factors which make Chicago politics what it is. The heart of the matter lies in a clear realization of the tremendous value of the stakes of the game: pay-rolls "taking care" of thousands of party workers; appropriations running into the hundreds of millions; power to give or withhold in many of the daily incidents of life, which make or destroy individual happiness and fortune; influence leading into state and national politics, affecting the political fortunes of governors and senators, and strengthening or weakening the power of the national parties. It

is no accident that senators forsake their duties at Washington to lead the battalions in the elections of the county of Cook and the city of Chicago.

But if the stakes of the game are unparalleled, so also is the complexity of the social situation which has to be manipulated to win the Golden Apples. A veritable jungle of personal attachments and feuds has grown up among the professionals who play the game, a tangle which is the despair of the uninitiated observer and which becomes the more unintelligible as one watches the various realignments which united, at least for the purposes of the recent primary, leaders who had exhausted their ingenuity in reviling and defying each other. Behind the puzzling web of personal connections of the politicians lies the more stable but equally complicated tissue of social grouping which makes the city.¹ Racial groups, color groups, economic groups, criminal groups, now take an aggressive lead in determining the fate of politicians, now become the more or less passive target of appeals from the politicians.

The reputed sovereign, the voter, moves therefore in a complicated kingdom. One may hazard the opinion that he rules only to the extent that he recognizes the metes and bounds of his empire and knows the ambitions and senses the purposes of his servants. The outstanding merit of Dr. Wooddy's work is that it opens windows in the royal palace through which the sovereign is rarely permitted to gaze.

This book is a realistic, objective, and impartial account of a single primary election in a great city. It is

¹ Park and Burgess, *The City*.

perhaps unnecessary to insist that the author has no intent or desire to affect the political fortunes of the individuals or factions, an account of whose behavior fills these pages. Dr. Wooddy came to Chicago from his position as assistant professor of American history at the State College of Washington as a stranger and leaves for England to continue his study of nominating systems, here recording the result of many months of patient, systematic observation. Never before have the citizens of Chicago been apprised of the inner workings of their great political and factional organizations, and, so far as is known, no similar description of a primary election has ever been made in any other city. Students of government and earnest citizens alike need a series of such vivid, accurate, and revealing surveys by means of which only can we grapple with the fundamental questions concerning the efficacy of democratic institutions presented by prevailing conditions in Chicago and Cook County.

Dr. Wooddy's study was initiated at the suggestion of Professor Charles E. Merriam, whose absence in Europe at the time of publication of this book prevented him from preparing a foreword.

LEONARD D. WHITE

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

CROWE, ROBERT E. State's Attorney since 1920. Leader of "Crowe-Barrett" faction.

BARRETT, CHARLES V. Member Board of Review since 1918. Leader of Crowe-Barrett faction.

BRUNDAGE, EDWARD J. Former Attorney-General. Joined with Crowe-Barrett group in this campaign.

- THOMPSON, WILLIAM HALE. Mayor of Chicago, 1915-23. Joined with Crowe-Barrett group in this campaign. These four, with their followers, referred to as the "C-B-B-T" faction.
- DENEEN, CHARLES S. United States Senator; formerly State's Attorney and Governor. Head of the "Deneen" faction.
- McKINLEY, WILLIAM B. United States Senator. Formerly Congressman for seven terms. Candidate for renomination.
- SMITH, FRANK L. Chairman of State Commerce Commission; chairman of Republican State Committee; candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator.
- SMALL, LEN. Governor of Illinois. Principal in the "Small-Lundin" faction.
- LUNDIN, FREDERICK. Former friend and political associate of William Hale Thompson; now affiliated with Governor Small as leader of the "Small-Lundin" faction.
- WEST, ROY O. Secretary of the Republican National Committee; chairman of the Deneen campaign committee.
- EDWARD R. LITSINGER, Member of Board of Review; JOSEPH F. HAAS, County Recorder; THOMAS J. HEALY, treasurer of the Deneen campaign committee; all prominent Deneen leaders.
- KING, LAWRENCE F., President of Sanitary Board, Twelfth Ward; MORRIS ELLER, Sanitary Trustee, Twentieth Ward; HOMER K. GALPIN, Chairman Republican County Committee; all prominent Crowe-Barrett leaders.
- HARDING, GEORGE F. Millionaire real-estate man and politician; influential on South Side, particularly in negro districts; friend of William Hale Thompson.
- BRENNAN, GEORGE E. Leader or "boss" of the "regular" Democrats.
- DUNNE, EDWARD F., former Governor, and WILLIAM L. O'CONNELL, leaders of the "Democracy of Illinois."
- SAVAGE, JOSEPH P., Assistant State's Attorney, Crowe-Barrett candidate for County Judge; Municipal Judge DANIEL P. TRUDE, Deneen candidate for County Judge.

CHAPTER I

CHICAGO POLITICS: THE GAME, THE STAKES, AND THE PLAYERS

In approaching a survey of the Cook County primary election of 1926 we must first observe the general political background against which this particular contest was projected. In its broad outlines the situation was not new, being nothing more or less than a manifestation of the type situation of spoils politics often described by students of municipal affairs. Its unique and distinguishing characteristics arose from the presence of well-defined and relatively permanent party and factional groups, presenting shifting patterns of alliances from time to time, but displaying astonishing vitality, tenacity, and adaptability. In spite of legal limitations imposed by measures such as the direct primary law, civil service laws, and changes in the structure of government, they maintained an unbroken front, yielding occasionally but never surrendering to the forces of "reform," and adjusting their tactics to the changes in the social environment produced by the moral and material progress of the city.

While many social and political factors entered into the make-up of these factional groups, they were cemented chiefly by the spoils, patronage, and perquisites which constituted the stakes in the political game they were playing. These in turn were made possible by the prevailing type of governmental organization, which lent

itself to spoils politics, and which the politician therefore strove to perpetuate with all the resources at his command. Political manipulation was encouraged by the presence of a complicated tangle of overlapping local governing agencies, each with its coterie of officials, many of them elective. Many of these bodies possessed taxing and spending power, all had patronage and perquisites, both offering fertile fields for exploitation. The long ballot provided the politicians with the "open sesame" to elective office, while the absence or the perversion of the merit system opened the way to spoilsmanship in the field of political appointments. At least a partial explanation of this governmental situation is necessary to an understanding of the ramifications of factual politics in Cook County.

Not all of the local governing bodies were involved in the primary we are describing. Except for twelve municipal judges, city officials proper were not chosen at this time. The municipal election involving the choice of mayor, clerk, treasurer, and aldermen in each of fifty wards, besides twenty circuit and one superior judge for the county, was scheduled for 1927. Nor were the important offices of state's attorney and recorder now in question. Enough important county officers, however, were nominated in this election for the characteristic elements of the political situation to be revealed, particularly in view of the fact that the aldermanic election, being non-partisan, was not so closely associated with factionalism, and that this campaign was certain to affect the outcome of the mayoralty contest, with its prizes—a city pay-roll of over 20,000 and a budget of

approximately \$200,000,000. Although congressmen and a United States senator were nominated, the fact that this was a non-presidential year enabled local issues to be observed more attentively. The list of selections to be made in this 1926 primary included, it is true, a number of state officials: state treasurer, supreme court clerk, state senators from odd-numbered districts, and members of the lower house. The greater number, however, were county officers: three trustees of the sanitary district, county judge, probate judge, clerks of the appellate, probate, and criminal courts, sheriff, county treasurer, county clerk, county superintendent of schools, one member of the board of review and three assessors, a president of the county board and ten commissioners from the city besides five from the country towns. The significance of these prizes from the point of view of factional and spoils politics is worth some consideration.

First let us consider the objectives commonly pursued by the factional leaders and their subordinates. We may begin with a speech delivered by a well-known leader to the precinct captains of the ward organization for which he was committeeman. After the roll call—which, by the way, was far from perfunctory, every worker being present or accounted for—the leader stilled the applause that greeted him as follows:

“I don’t want applause; what I want first is pledge cards, but, more than that, votes. This is a real fight, and every man must do his share. Look at that chart—some of the precincts show no pledge cards at all. Who is the man from this precinct?”

A man rose in the audience. “That’s mine, Mr. ———. I have thirty cards at home and am just waiting to copy them before turning them in.”

"You're expecting a raise in salary in your job, aren't you?"

"Yes, sir."

"Carry your precinct or you not only won't get it, but you'll lose your job altogether.

"I don't want to scold, but I believe I've been as good to this ward as it has to me. . . . I want to say to you that if any man does not carry his precinct on the thirteenth of April, he'll be fired on the fourteenth. If a man means anything in his precinct, he can carry it. If he doesn't mean anything in his precinct, he has no business in politics and holding a job. The reason that —— is on the ticket for municipal judge in spite of the fact that he is a new man in the ward is that he had the banner precinct. . . . I promise that whoever turns out the biggest vote in his precinct will be on the next county ticket, if I sit on the slate committee, and I think I will.

"What is more, any of you that don't get out the vote and have jobs, will lose them, and they'll go to those who do work and have no job. I'm looking at one right now that has no job, and he'll have one that someone else now has unless you get out the vote. Don't think I don't mean this. I've fired the ward committeeman and I've fired the president of this ward club, although he had a \$6000 job.

"I believe that to the victor belongs the spoils. He who contributes most to winning the election ought to sit at the first table, and those who do less should sit at the second table. Any one of you who can come to me and show that he got out more votes than someone else who has a better job can have that job."

Jobs, whether elective or appointive, form the chief political currency, both as the medium of exchange and the standard of value. They are the rewards of political success and the chief means of prolonging it. Furthermore, certain jobs in particular supply the facilities for spoils and perquisites with which the politician fortifies his position and intrenches himself against the attacks of rivals. Eventually, through the manipulation of the

material and personnel at his disposal, he may gain "control" of one or more wards and thus become a permanent factor in the political situation, perhaps even, as his influence widens, the leader of a city-wide faction. "Where does the public come in?" asks the *News* in one of its editorials commenting on the political situation in Cook County. Answering its own query it concludes: "We'll bite. Where?"² Obviously this situation exists with the consent of the public, but equally clearly its existence implies that the public interest is ignored or perverted.

A brief survey will reveal the copious spoils contested for this election. First in order of political importance comes the Sanitary District of Chicago. Created as a separate local administrative body with taxing and borrowing powers for the purpose of financing and building the Drainage Canal, and covering an area of 185 square miles in 1889, it has more than doubled in size, now including all of Chicago and some forty-nine other incorporated cities and villages in Cook County. Its expenditures have likewise grown, the budget approved for 1926 amounting to more than \$42,000,000, and even greater outlays were planned for the future in connection with the building of sewage-treatment plants and other improvements. Such expenditures obviously involved the employment of a large pay-roll, and the absence of a merit system of appointment enabled this to be manipulated for political purposes almost without limit. Charges of Sanitary District graft made during the campaign will be referred to later, but, it may be noted at this

² *Chicago Daily News*, January 23.

point, little doubt can exist that its pay-roll was used to reward political workers.³ Figures from the records of the board were quoted to show that in the (politically) busy season before elections the number of employees would mount as high as 3,000, only to drop off sharply when the election was over. It need scarcely be pointed out, also, that the expenditure of vast sums for construction and maintenance opened up almost limitless opportunities for favoritism and graft.

The governing body of the Sanitary District is a board of nine trustees, three elected every two years for terms of six years. Three Republican members were up for re-election in 1926. Two of these, King and Eller, were affiliated with the Crowe-Barrett faction, the third, Alexander Todd, was a Lundin man. The remaining members were three Brennan Democrats, two Crowe-Barrett Republicans, and one Deneen Republican. Under the existing arrangement, a coalition of Crowe-Barrett Republicans with the Democrats controlled the board. If three Deneen men were elected, this would place that group in a position to bargain with the Democrats or to strike for complete control in 1928. Democratic victory in the fall election would give the Brennan group a complete monopoly over the patronage and spoils of the district. Each Republican group, therefore, was especially eager to obtain the nominations and to be in a position to win the contested seats in the general election.

³ Cf. the *Audit of the Sanitary District* published by the Association of Commerce as this book was in press; *Chicago Daily News*, August 30, 1926.

The county offices involved in the election, while not such a *terra incognita* of spoils politics, also involved important prizes. The salaries of the offices ranged from \$12,000 for county judge and probate judge down to \$5,000 for county commissioner. A budget of over \$34,000,000 was involved, and a correspondingly large number of employees in the different offices and county institutions.⁴ These were supposed to be protected by civil service provisions, but it was freely charged that this was subject to manipulation, and that even when the forms of the merit system were followed appointments were often political in nature. It was reported that Coroner Wolff, when he transferred his allegiance from the Crowe to the Deneen camp, threatened with dismissal those in his office who refused to "go along." Other cases could be cited.

One group of county offices possessed peculiar usefulness in building up political power. These were the Board of Assessors and Board of Review. The former, composed of five members serving six-year terms, was charged with the duty of making assessments in the first instance, while the three county reviewers, also serving for six-year terms, replaced the old town boards as an appeal body in tax matters, having final jurisdiction in adjusting assessments. This tremendous power over the tax rate of individuals, with its vast political potentialities, made these offices, and particularly the position of reviewer, much coveted prizes. A majority member of the Board of Review, by using his power to reduce assessments or to raise them, to threaten or to favor, could

⁴ See "County Budget for 1926," in *Chicago Journal*, March 3.

without difficulty build up a personal machine in every precinct of Cook County. Furthermore, all kinds of additional perquisites were within reach. It would be difficult to refuse a favor asked by a man who might double your tax bill, or halve it at will. Positions on the Board of Review were regarded as life-jobs, if the holder wished to continue in office. Charles V. Barrett, one of the leaders of the dominant Republican faction, has been a member of this body since 1918. His group controlled both assessing bodies at this time and sought to retain that control.

In order to complete the picture of spoils politics, reference must be made to the other large patronage offices not involved in this election. These included, as has been mentioned, a number of county offices such as that of state's attorney and county recorder. More important were the great park systems of Chicago. The parks were separately administered under three large units, besides a considerable number of small parks separately controlled. The Lincoln Park Board and the West Park Board were appointed by the governor, and the patronage of these bodies was therefore at the disposal of the Small-Lundin forces. The South Parks were managed by a board of five members elected by the circuit judges of Cook County. This might be assumed to guarantee removal of South Park affairs from politics. Unfortunately it had the opposite effect of involving the twenty circuit judges in politics even more than would normally be the case. A combination between Crowe-Barrett Republican and Brennan Democratic judges had resulted in the choice of a park board controlled by a coalition

similar to that existing in the sanitary district. The large patronage of the South Park district was therefore divided between the Brennan Democratic and Crowe-Barrett Republican groups. The pay-roll of the city of Chicago, while also protected by civil service regulations, included a considerable number of higher positions not under civil service rules. Such appointments were understood to be handled by George Brennan, the Democratic "boss," as patronage dispenser for the mayor. Even the protected positions were believed to be subject to some manipulation.⁵ The merit system had scarcely recovered from the disintegrating effect of the two administrations of William Hale Thompson, and, while no one questioned the integrity of Mayor Dever or of his president of the civil service commission, Mr. Finn, it was less certain that Mr. Brennan was eager to comply with the letter, to say nothing of the spirit of the civil service law.⁶

Politics, then, in the words of the *Evening Post*, has been in Cook county

. . . . A professional occupation carried on by men and women who expect to be compensated, not thru the indirect benefits of efficient government, but thru direct benefits in the form of jobs, contracts and other material gains such as lie within the control of their employers. These jobs, contracts and like compensations, distributed by the bosses, are paid for by the people. It is with the people's money that the political machines

⁵ For instance, the case of Lieutenant Homer, favorite of Mr. Crowe, promoted to a captaincy in spite of low rating in promotional examination.

⁶ See Kingsbury, *Municipal Personnel Policy in Chicago, 1895-1915*; also L. D. White, *Conditions of Municipal Employment in Chicago, a Study of Morale*.

are able to impose upon the people forms of government which are more profitable to the politicians than they are serviceable to the public.⁷

It is impossible to complete the foregoing account without taking notice of the factional groups who form the personnel of the political machines operating this governmental spoils system and who figure as the *dramatis personae* in the primary election we are describing. Let us therefore turn at once to a brief explanation of the political background of the chief factional leaders, together with an account of the maneuvers which resulted in the alliances which appeared in this particular election.

To understand the factional alliances of 1926 in the Republican party we must go back twenty-five years in the political history of Cook County. Three large political figures might then have been observed dominating the party in Chicago. On the North Side a solid block of wards followed the leadership of Fred Busse, a rough, unscrupulous, and uncultivated personality, yet distinguished by much native force and a certain sense of political fitness. On the West Side was found William Lorimer, the outstanding Republican "boss," an active and able organizer who built up a powerful machine, his followers, however, being of the spoilsman type, often crooked, who sneered at all semblance of reform. On the South Side was Charles S. Deneen, an able lawyer and organizer who was able to gather a following of the more respectable elements and appeal successfully to the business and professional people of the better residential dis-

⁷ Editorial, March 30.

tricts, without entirely abandoning the "practical" political methods characteristic of the rival groups. All of these leaders prospered. After eight years as state's attorney, Deneen became governor in 1905. Lorimer served many years as congressman, and in 1909 was elected by the legislature to succeed Senator Albert J. Hopkins. Busse, who had been in the legislature, state treasurer from 1902 to 1904, and then postmaster, was elected mayor of Chicago in 1907.

Now came a period of changing fortunes. Busse's administration was subjected to a thorough investigation by the Committee on Public Expenditure under Alderman Merriam, revealing such maladministration and corruption that he was unable to rehabilitate himself. The Republican nomination for mayor was won by Alderman Merriam, who barely lost in the general election to Carter Harrison. Further losing prestige by a colored marriage, Busse passed from the picture. Lorimer, too, met difficulties. He had scarcely taken his seat in the senate before charges were made that he had purchased the election. A series of long drawn out investigations followed, culminating in the adoption of a resolution by the senate on July 14, 1912, declaring his election invalid. These events left Deneen practically supreme. The Roosevelt secession in 1912, however, proved disastrous to him. He refused to cast his lot with the Progressives; the latter nominated Frank Funk as Progressive candidate for governor, and Deneen, running for a third term, was beaten by Edward F. Dunne, Busse's Democratic predecessor as mayor of Chicago.

A period of rebuilding follows. Busse's corporation

counsel, Edward J. Brundage, succeeded to his power on the North Side. An important factor in his power was the support of Medill McCormick, of the influential and wealthy McCormick family, with the powerful *Chicago Tribune* behind him. McCormick had come to the front in the Progressive movement and had been elected to the legislature from the Twenty-ninth District as a Progressive in 1912. By 1915 he returned to the regulars, and with his backing Brundage rose to be attorney-general in 1916. Deneen had lost much of his Progressive support, but made a strong bid for renewed power in 1915, backing Harry Olson, Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, for the Republican nomination for mayor. In the meantime Lorimer was in the field again in 1912 with a county ticket and with Len Small as a candidate for governor. Small, a down-state politician, had been state treasurer from 1904 to 1906 and had established many other intimate connections in a political career extending well back of the year 1900. Two other names now came to the front as representative of the Lorimer influence: Frederick Lundin and William Hale Thompson. Both of these were Lorimer lieutenants, trained in his political school, tending to be wire-pullers rather than office-holders, though Thompson had been an alderman from the Second Ward, and Lundin had been in the legislature and served one term in Congress. Lundin's strength was based, not only upon his command of the intricacies of political manipulation, but also upon his ability to rally the Scandinavian vote to his support. Thompson's qualities were less subtle; his most effective asset was his sense of dramatic values. Thompson was

selected as the Lorimer candidate for mayor in 1915, and months before the primary a pledge-card campaign was conducted under Lundin's auspices. Thus the Deneen and Lorimer forces met sharply in this mayoralty primary, Brundage, on this occasion, standing with Deneen. The management, however, was bungled, Progressive support was enthusiastic neither for Deneen nor Olson, and Thompson gained the nomination by a narrow majority in a light vote. In the general election Thompson easily defeated Robert M. Sweitzer, the regular Democratic candidate who had won over Carter Harrison in the primary.

Lorimer now attempted to recover his seat in Congress, but was beaten in the primaries in 1917. Thompson continued Lorimer traditions in the City Hall, his administration being characterized by audacity, subversion of the merit system and the reintroduction of spoils politics, dislike of anything for civic betterment, the whole being bolstered up with demagogic appeals to anti-war sentiment and the labor vote. In the meantime Brundage retained his power on the North Side. Medill McCormick became congressman-at-large and then United States senator in 1919, giving this faction much federal patronage, and Brundage was re-elected attorney-general in 1920. Deneen, likewise, retained many county offices. Thus in this period of Thompson-Lundin ascendancy there were again three well-defined Republican factions, Thompson-Lundin, Brundage-McCormick, and Deneen respectively. After the war Thompson was renominated for mayor over Harry Olson, with former Alderman Merriam as a third candidate, and for the sec-

and time defeated Sweitzer, though by a greatly reduced majority. This was in 1919. In 1920 the Thompson crowd tied up with Len Small, Lorimer's choice for governor in 1912. Badly beaten by Deneen in the primary on the earlier occasion, Small came back as state treasurer for the 1916-18 term. After beating Lieutenant Governor Oglesby in the 1920 primary, Small was carried through in the general election by the Republican landslide, former Senator James Hamilton Lewis being his Democratic opponent.

A new period of change now follows, with new names appearing in the story. Robert E. Crowe, trained in the ward politics of the West Side, aggressive, but with more education and polish than the earlier Lorimer type, was elected circuit judge on the Thompson ticket in 1915, and became chief justice of the Criminal Court. In 1920 he was the Thompson choice for state's attorney, defeating Michael L. Igoe, the Democratic choice over the incumbent, Maclay Hoyne. Crowe was re-elected over Igoe in 1924 to the same office. In the meantime the Thompson administration had lost credit, and Crowe, with the powerful law-enforcing machinery at his disposal, scented an opportunity to succeed to Thompson's power. He broke with the Thompson-Lundin machine, indicted Lundin for frauds in connection with the Board of Education, and so discredited the Thompson régime that the latter did not dare to run for renomination in 1923. Postmaster Arthur Lueder won a "free-for-all" Republican primary over Edward R. Litsinger, a Deneen follower, but awakened civic interest, actuated by a desire to clean out the Thompson ring from the City

Hall, supported the regular Democratic nominee, Superior Judge William E. Dever, and the latter was elected. Small, too, now began to reap the fruits of a lifetime of spoils politics. In 1921, at the instance of Attorney-General Brundage, a criminal suit was filed against him charging conspiracy in connection with the withholding of more than a million dollars interest on state funds. This was alleged to have occurred while Small was state treasurer, between 1916 and 1918, the agency through which the fraudulent transactions were carried being a fictitious "Grant Park Bank" operated by Small's friends, State Senator E. C. Curtis and V. C. Curtis. Small was acquitted by a jury in his trial on the criminal charge at Waukegan, and, profiting by the plea of political persecution, aided by the sympathy aroused by the death of his wife, and through his advocacy of a bond issue for constructing hard roads, was able to secure reelection to the governorship in 1924. A civil suit against him for an accounting was, however, filed at the same time in Sangamon County, at Springfield. Here the circuit court ruled against him, holding him liable to account for approximately \$1,100,000 alleged to have been withheld by him, and in December, 1925, the state Supreme Court upheld this decision, finally refusing Small a rehearing in February, 1926, and ordering the case back to the Circuit Court for hearings before a master in chancery to determine the exact sum due the state.

Pending this debacle, decisive rearrangements were in the making in 1924. McCormick's term as senator was expiring, and he was a candidate for renomination. Brundage, too, was again a candidate for attorney-gen-

eral. Thompson's following had disintegrated, the old Lorimer forces now being largely consolidated under the leadership of Robert E. Crowe and Charles V. Barrett. The latter, also a West Side ward-leader of the more respectable and dignified type, had gained considerable influence during his incumbency as county reviewer, a position to which he had been elected for two years in 1918 and for the full six-year term in 1920. Counted among the members of this powerful faction were Judge George F. Barrett, brother of Charles V.; Homer Galpin, chairman of the Republican County Committee; William H. Weber, assessor and later reviewer, a power in the country towns of Cook County; and numerous other ward-leaders, such as Morris Eller and Lawrence King, trustees of the Sanitary District since 1920. Deneen now challenged these powerful forces by declaring himself a candidate for the senatorial nomination against Senator McCormick. To make his success possible Deneen was obliged to rely considerably upon the assistance of the forces of Governor Small, although there was no open and formal alliance between them. The Small group, however, bitterly hated the *Tribune* and was equally hostile to Brundage, who had prosecuted Small. Thompson, too, found himself on the side of Deneen. He, too, hated the *Tribune*, and had often denounced it and McCormick in unforgivable language. He had not forgotten, moreover, that it was McCormick who had balked his own senatorial ambitions by beating him in the 1918 primary. His influence was impaired, of course. He no longer had the counsel of Lundin. Although he had hurried back from Honolulu to serve as a character witness

at the latter's trial, their friendship had waned. Lundin, left for the moment in the outer darkness, was now seeking attachment to the party of Governor Small, and before long was to reap sweet revenge on Thompson by balking the latter's hope of becoming the governor's patronage dispenser in Cook County. In spite of these circumstances, Thompson retained something of a personal following, and such influence as he possessed was thrown to Deneen rather than McCormick.

A bloody battle now ensued all along the line, and contrary to the expectations of observers, Deneen emerged victorious by a very narrow margin. His Cook County plurality of nearly 10,000 was just enough to enable him to win by slightly less than 6,000 votes. The Small forces, too, were generally victorious in the state-wide fight. Essington, the anti-Small candidate for governor, lost by 60,000 votes; and Brundage, Small's "persecutor," was beaten by Oscar Carlstrom. Within Cook County, while each faction made some gains, the Crowe-Barrett element secured the largest number of nominees. The effect of the election on factional alignments was to bring together the Crowe-Barrett and the Brundage elements. This was of course obviously expedient for this particular contest. The Brundage group, however, suffered severely at this time. Brundage himself lost office, McCormick was beaten, and his death shortly afterward was a serious loss to the Brundage contingent. Its strength thus reduced, it was believed that this group would find it more advantageous to co-operate with Crowe than to attempt to remain independent.

With all of these developments in mind, let us pro-

ceed to consider the elements which entered into the factional groupings of the 1926 primary. We begin with Crowe and Barrett strongly entrenched in the state's attorney's office and the Board of Review and "controlling" many other county offices, judgeships, and members of the state legislature, besides being on friendly terms with one United States senator, Mr. McKinley. Brundage, weakened, occupied a rather doubtful place, for the moment associated with the Crowe group. Thompson derived little benefit from the victory of Deneen and of Small. It was believed that Small made Lundin his patronage broker, and by the beginning of 1926 he even removed Thompson's friends from the Lincoln Park Board, thus stripping the ex-mayor of practically his last remnant of political power. Small, with more than two years yet to serve, controlling much patronage in Cook County, was in a position to exercise much influence. Deneen, finally, his prestige much improved, hoped for a larger share in the direction of county affairs and a larger proportion of county offices for his followers.

Of course, beyond a primary lies a general election, and we must not neglect the relation of Republican factionalism to the Democrats. The city of Chicago has tended on the whole to be Democratic, while the heavy Republicanism of the country towns has made the vote of the whole county increasingly Republican. On the whole, however, the balance between the parties has been a remarkably even one. The Democrats had won a notable victory behind Dever in 1923, but with better co-operation among the Republican groups this might

be turned to a Republican triumph in 1927. Moreover, from the Republican point of view, too many county offices were held by Democrats, including the county clerkship, the county treasurer, county judge, the president and six other members of the County Board. Many of these might be captured in 1926. Looking at this matter from the viewpoint of "practical" politics, there are two ways of proceeding. One is the open frontal battle in which many prizes may be won, but which may also result in many irremediable casualties. The other is the secret arrangement, by which offices are parceled out beforehand, and the organization forces so marshaled at the polls as to return the chosen victors and leave the willing sacrifices to be rewarded in some other way. Such sham battles can be managed only where the organization is sufficiently complete on both sides of the party fence to assure votes being delivered as promised. In Cook County at this time there was no question of Democratic organization being other than completely at the disposal of the "boss"—George Brennan. On the Republican side the Crowe-Barrett group had now attained a political stature sufficient to enable it to traffic in such agreements, and as the 1926 primary approached, it was believed that a comprehensive understanding existed between the Brennan and Crowe-Barrett groups as to the distribution of the offices between them. Such understandings were foreshadowed by so-called "bi-partisan" arrangements already known to exist in connection with the management of the Sanitary District, the County Commission, and the South Park Board.

Such a situation, however satisfactory to the parties

sharing in the profits, may well be utterly subversive of the public interest. On more selfish grounds it was bound to meet with protest from the party units not consulted. Realizing that his plans for improving his position could make little headway as long as the largest Republican faction preferred to co-operate with the Democrats rather than with the other Republican groups, Senator Deneen, in December, 1925, initiated an important movement. This was the calling of a so-called "harmony conference" which met for many successive days at the Hotel LaSalle. All significant Republican elements, save Thompson, were represented. The Deneen proposal was that a "harmony ticket" should be selected upon which all factions should agree. This, it was urged, would not only insure a reasonable division of offices among the groups without the necessity of a primary struggle, but it would also increase the prestige of the Republican party and make it possible for further gains to be made at the expense of the Democrats.

While this seemed a reasonable proposal, many difficulties had to be surmounted. The assignment of the offices to the different groups in the right proportion would, no doubt, involve much negotiation, but the technique of such a division of the spoils is familiar enough. All of the participants in the conference were brought up in the caucus system and were adepts at such adjustments. More difficult was the question of whether the offices should be divided among the groups, each being allowed to name its own choices, and each agreeing in advance to support the choices of the others, or whether all of the candidates should be canvassed by the confer-

ences, none being allowed to go on the ticket unless satisfactory personally to all of the conferees. The latter procedure was insisted on by the Deneen element, nominally because it would insure a higher level of quality among the candidates, actually because the other method might result in key positions falling into the hands of men who would administer them for the exclusive benefit of their own faction, thus depriving the "harmony agreement" of any real meaning. Even more significant was the fact that genuine factional harmony would involve abandoning the "bi-partisan" agreements with the Democrats, both in the various local governing bodies mentioned and in connection with the rumored partition of offices. Particular attention was centered on the office of county judge, uniquely important because of its control of the election machinery. The Deneen group, though having a candidate for this position, declared itself willing to accept the nominee of another group, providing only the man selected was one upon whose impartiality it could rely. Superior Judge Walter Steffen, Mr. Brundage's choice, was satisfactory, but the Deneen representatives looked with suspicion upon the Crowe suggestion, Joseph Savage, a young assistant state's attorney, on the ground that his proposed selection was the fruit of a bi-partisan understanding with Mr. Brennan.

On such disputes as the above the conference broke down. Mr. Brundage was favorable to the conclusion of an understanding, perhaps because he saw the chance of gaining the county judgeship, perhaps because he regretted the necessity of depending on Crowe, with whom he had been on hostile terms only a few years back, and

concerning whom he had once said: "Crowe reminds me of the ancient fable of the ass who succeeded fairly well in the lion skin until he began to bray. . . . This Crow[e] thinks himself an eagle."⁸ The Small group, now seeing the handwriting on the wall, was eager only to make a combination that would insure retaining control of the legislature, and hence would have been willing to come to an arrangement on condition of being assigned a fair proportion of the jobs. The Crowe group, however, seemed to feel that it was being asked to surrender, in the peace treaty, the advantages it had won on the field of factional battle. It was not interested in party harmony as an end in itself, its arrangements with the Democrats paid large dividends and would not be surrendered without a *quid pro quo*. The concessions demanded by Crowe as the price of his co-operation, however, left the other groups without sufficient guaranties that they would not be "double-crossed" or their candidates "traded-off" to the Democrats. Hence no real ground for agreement existed, and the negotiations had to be abandoned.

This left the situation as before, Brundage and Crowe-Barrett being together, Deneen standing alone, and the Small interests in a somewhat undefined situation, having partisans in both camps. The Small leaders tended to affiliate with whichever group was dominant in their vicinity, though there was something of a leaning toward a Small-Deneen union because of their co-operation in 1924. Meanwhile dissensions broke out in the

⁸Quoted in article by George P. Stone, *Chicago Daily News*, March 30.

Crowe-Barrett-Brundage camp. Mr. Brundage, it was reported, had insisted on the acceptance of his candidate for county judge, Walter Steffen. Crowe, having already fixed upon Savage for this place, refused. Brundage, however, would not yield, and on January 6, 1926, it was announced in the press that the Crowe-Barrett alliance with Brundage had ended. It was now predicted that Brundage and Deneen would unite, and that the Small forces might find their way entirely to the Crowe-Barrett side. The immediate developments seemed to verify at least the former forecast.

While observers were hailing the conclusion of a new political alliance, events came to pass with startling suddenness to nullify these predictions. Since Mr. Brundage himself did not control enough offices to supply his entire following with jobs, many of them were cared for by the Sanitary District Board, which, as we have noted, was controlled by a Crowe-Barrett-Brennan combination. No sooner had Mr. Brundage issued his declaration of independence than reprisals commenced. To quote the *Daily News*: "Promptly, not to say with extreme suddenness, a small army of Brundage followers was thrown out of public jobs by the Crowe-Barrett majority of the sanitary district board."⁹ This placed Mr. Brundage in an untenable position. Had the Deneen group been able to find berths for all of Brundage's able

⁹ Editorial, January 23. Respecting Brundage's reconciliation with Crowe this editorial remarks: "With the agility of a startled fawn Mr. Brundage fled back to the embraces of the Crowe-Barrett combination. He was welcomed with feasting and the promise of veal steaks in abundance for his followers from the quivering carcass of the fatted public."

seamen, all might have been well. But the former controlled few, if any, large patronage offices. Perhaps, in the absence of Senator Deneen, who was in Washington, his lieutenants blundered; perhaps the situation could not be handled at all. At any rate, Judge Steffen announced that he would be unable to run for county judge; and Brundage, declaring that this had been the only point of difference between them, renewed his alliance with Crowe. A comforting number of places was awarded him on the ticket, and shortly afterward he covered this rather humiliating submission by departing for Europe on a vacation.

William Hale Thompson now became the center of interest for a time. The former mayor was eager to catch on to one or the other of the groups, seeing little prospect of making headway by himself toward recapturing the mayoralty in 1927. As assets with which to bargain, he had his own personal popularity and the influential support of George F. Harding, the South Side boss. Both he and Harding were millionaires, and it was reported that Harding was willing to spend \$500,000 to re-elect Thompson mayor. Recalling the senatorial fight of 1924, Thompson first dickered with Deneen, but the latter could scarcely accept Thompson without alienating his own following, particularly as two of his chief lieutenants were poising on the brink of the mayoralty race. But if alliance with Deneen was difficult, it was still more unthinkable that Thompson could be welcomed into the camp of his mortal enemies, Crowe and Brundage. Newspaper reporters recalled at this time some of the unpleasant epithets these gentry had hurled

at each other in times past. Of Brundage, Thompson had said:

The administration of Brundage is what might have been expected of a corporation lawyer whose principal business before election was to aid rich tax dodgers in escaping their just share of the expenses of government.

Brundage in 1920 had declared that

The issue . . . is between efficient, economical government, and Lundin-Thompson Tammanyism.

While Crowe, in 1922, publicly stated that

I quit Thompson because he indicated he did not wish me to live up to my oath of office. . . . The immediate cause of my breach with Mayor Thompson was my efforts to close hell-holes of prostitution and vice.

Thompson more than repaid these compliments in words oft repeated in his 1924 speeches:

Ladies and gentlemen, anytime you'll find that I am in the same political bed with Bobby Crowe, the Barrett brothers, Ed Brundage, who was the cause of killing Governor Small's wife, the *Chicago Tribune* profiteering from Canadian free lands for their pulp paper, and their Medill McCormick who voted for war, then you'll know that Bill Thompson has turned out to be a crook.

Nor had their informal intercourse been more congenial. "Tom" Wallace had once thrown a book at Thompson in a council meeting. Thompson had referred to Crowe as a "little rat," and the latter's repartee was even more pungent: "Skunk!" said he. Homer K. Galpin had once written a campaign document accusing Thompson of lying and double-crossing the public.¹⁰ Political factionists are notoriously opportunists, but could any emer-

¹⁰ For these quotations, see article by George P. Stone, *Chicago Daily News*, March 30; also *City Hall Gossip*.

gency which existed warrant the acceptance of Thompson as an ally?

Two circumstances seem to have operated to serve Thompson's ends at this time. In the first place the defection of Brundage had apparently left Crowe in a somewhat weakened position. Secondly, the question of the nominee for county treasurer was an important factor. This place had originally been reserved for Sheriff Peter Hoffman, who with William H. Weber and William Busse had constituted the powerful country-towns triumvirate that had worked with Crowe-Barrett and Brundage in the previous primary. It was reported that, by grace of the Democrats, Hoffman was to be allowed to become treasurer, while his place as sheriff would fall to P. J. Carr ("Paddy" Carr), the present county treasurer, a man high in the Brennan organization. Hoffman, however, though reputed one of the best vote-getters in Cook County, and long a holder of various public offices, had hopelessly discredited himself by becoming involved in an exposé of affairs in the County Jail in which he had been shown to have in some measure been responsible for illegal favors granted to two notorious bootleggers, Terry Druggan and Frank Lake. In the end Hoffman was sentenced to a month in jail for contempt of court. In the scramble for Hoffman's place on the Crowe-Barrett slate, George F. Harding, Thompson's friend, was successful, not by virtue of that latter fact, but because of his own wealth, power, and good running qualities. The presence of Harding in the Crowe-Barrett camp gave Thompson an entering wedge. Some shrewd and tactful diplomacy on Harding's part paved the way, and

while Brundage was still dickering with Deneen, Thompson's entry into the Crowe-Barrett fellowship was announced. Shortly afterward came Brundage's retreat, but Thompson was now in and Brundage had to accept the situation. The four celebrated their union at a big banquet of their followers, and all of them took a share in the subsequent slate-making. Many doubted the sincerity of Crowe-Barrett intentions toward Harding and Thompson. It was pointed out that the Democratic nominee for county treasurer, Martin J. O'Brien, was a man whom the Brennan organization was determined to place, in which case Harding was likely to be made the subject of a trade. A like forecast was made concerning Thompson. Advantage would be taken of his campaigning ability during the campaign, after which he would be "handed his campaign sombrero" and asked to take his mayoralty ambitions elsewhere. While the two may have suspected all this, they were determined to use their opportunities so that they could not be ignored when the time came for the rewards to be passed out.¹¹

By January 20 these negotiations were completed, and the personnel of one of the Republican factional combinations for this primary was completed. This "world's greatest aggregation of political leaders," as the *Evening Post* sarcastically termed it, was described by Mr. Brundage as the nearest approach to Republican harmony that could now be attained in Cook County. It

¹¹ Thompson told the Reed committee he had been invited by a Crowe-Barrett committee to join them, with a promise that they would support him for mayor in 1927. He agreed, he said, on condition that a stand would be taken against the World Court, for waterways, and against prohibition. See *Chicago Tribune*, August 4.

was, however, not a party group, with anything approaching party responsibility. It represented merely the selfish interests of groups of spoilsmen, bound together by expediency in their quest for extended control of the patronage and perquisites of public office. In view of its background, its personnel, and its objectives, little could be expected of it in the public interest.

These developments left the Deneen group in a position even worse than before the harmony negotiations. Hope of a union with Brundage was now gone, and Thompson's aid would no longer be available as in 1924. The only remaining alliance to be considered was with the forces of Governor Small. This was of doubtful advantage. Many of Small's followers were already in the opposing camp. An alliance of this sort would alienate many of Deneen's supporters and deprive him of the indorsement of the civic groups. At first an effort was made to avoid Small's formal proffer of aid, and offer a strictly Deneen ticket. This proved unsuccessful. The rank and file could not be counted on to support a ticket that was sure to lose, and the leadership of the group was not strong enough in moral qualities to risk certain defeat for the sake of a principle or even for possible future advantage. Hence in the end there was a measure of surrender; four so-called "Lundin men" found places on the Deneen ticket, and the press felt itself justified in referring to the combination as the "Deneen-Lundin" group. These developments will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.¹² The conclusion of the period of readjustment prior to the primary resulted, as we have

¹² See chap. vii.

now seen, in the formation of two distinct factional groups, each composed of diverse elements possessing distinct historical roots, but now prepared, in their new groupings, to wage a mighty battle for the control of the valuable spoils of office at stake in this campaign.¹³

Thus far, our major attention has been attracted to Republican factionalism in Cook County. It has been necessary to describe the origin and nature of these groups in some detail, lest the account of their subsequent activities, which is to follow, might seem, however picturesque and spectacular, obscure and meaningless. Democratic factionalism, though of equal interest, offers less obscurity. If we were to trace Democratic politics through the developments of the past quarter-century, we would observe the emergence, in the early part of that period, of one outstanding leader or "boss," Roger Sullivan, whose authority, though predominant in the councils of the party, was challenged by the leadership of Carter Harrison II, five times mayor during the period. Sullivan's career climaxed in an unsuccessful attempt to gain the United States senatorship in 1914. On his death, the undisputed succession went to his lieutenant George Brennan, who immediately became a power in state and national Democratic politics as well as in Cook County. Some discordant elements remained, represented by such leaders as Carter Harrison, who, though no longer active, retained a personal following; former Senator James Hamilton Lewis; Edward F. Dunne, formerly mayor and governor; and his lieutenant William

¹³ For chronological summary of Republican factional alliances, see Appendix C.

L. O'Connell. These tended to co-operate with the dominant organization and expected to share in the distribution of patronage accruing to the party after the victory in the municipal elections of 1923. Mayor Dever, however, permitted appointments to be handled through Mr. Brennan. The disgruntled opposition formed, in July, 1925, a competing organization, calling itself the "Democracy of Illinois." It was, however, but a faint shadow of the regular Democratic group, which was thoroughly and effectively organized along Tammany lines. While both the "Dunne-O'Connell" and "Brennan" groups appear during the campaign, the former was hardly a serious menace to the latter. We shall be chiefly concerned with the Republican contest, but the activities of the Democrats will receive adequate consideration.

CHAPTER II

MAKING UP THE SLATES

The continued domination of the political scene by self-seeking factional groups was widely at variance with the prophecies of the early advocates of primary reform. Relying on the uncritical and optimistic view of democracy current in the nineteenth century, they naïvely assumed that, given a full and free opportunity to make their choices of public officials, the voters would actively assert themselves, consciously pursue their own best interests, and, by bringing forth and selecting the men most qualified to hold public office, drive from power selfish and corrupt bosses and political machines. At the same time great reliance was placed in the efficacy of statutory enactments and it was believed that the "brace" primary, the controlled convention, and the stolen election, which had become prevalent under the voluntary type of party organization, would disappear as soon as the avenues of popular participation were opened up by a wise system of legal regulation. The disappointing results of early efforts in this direction were explained as being due to the inadequacy of the remedies adopted, more democracy being urged as the proper cure. A long series of statutes testifies to the tenacity with which these views were promoted. As early as 1885 a law was adopted providing legal machinery which the parties could use, if they wished, in choosing delegates to conventions. Largely ignored and hence in-

effective, this was replaced in 1898 by a measure compelling the use, in Cook County, of the "delegate primary" with safeguards equivalent to those of a general election, its employment being optional in the rest of the state. In 1905 came a state-wide compulsory "delegate primary," followed in the next year by a better-drawn measure of the same type. The year 1908 marked the triumph of the advocates of the direct primary, and in 1910 definitive laws were achieved providing direct nominations for the greater number of state and county offices and for members of the general assembly.

Arrival at this goal was impeded in two ways. Important groups of politicians viewed this "departure from the principles of representative government" as fraught with grave dangers; opposed the enactment of all laws of this type; and, when compelled to yield, insisted on amendments which weakened the efficacy of the acts passed. The courts, too, viewed with favor arguments advanced by the opponents of direct nominations, and voided, on constitutional grounds, the measures of 1905, 1906, and 1908. The grounds for these decisions related chiefly to improper delegation of legislative powers, defective provisions for registration of voters, and non-compliance with the constitutional requirement of cumulative voting for representatives in the general assembly. A constitutional statute was achieved only by separating the provisions dealing with the latter group of nominations and dealing with them in a separate law. Important amendments were added in 1913, marking the high-water mark of direct-primary legislation. With the reaching of the long-sought objective, public senti-

ment began to be somewhat critical of the results, and in 1919 the legislature adopted a new primary law somewhat less favorable to the principle of direct nominations. This, too, was declared invalid by the state Supreme Court owing to defects in the method of constituting county committees. Although a few changes were made subsequently, the law remained in 1926 substantially as in 1913. The tenuous constitutional basis of the direct primary system was again illustrated, during the progress of the 1926 primary campaign, by suits filed in the Lee County Circuit Court questioning the validity of the 1910 law along lines similar to those which had been fatal to the law of 1919. The three judges of the Circuit Court, sitting *en banc*, pronounced the law unconstitutional in a decision handed down August 8. Appeal was taken to the state Supreme Court, and a decision was not expected in time to affect the 1926 elections.¹

In spite of the vicissitudes outlined above, nominations in Illinois have been conducted under some form of direct primary since 1908, and sufficient time has elapsed to enable an opinion to be formed as to the validity of the utopian forecasts of the early reformers. We have already noted, in the preceding chapter, that the so-called party and factional "machines" have not disappeared. On the contrary, rapidly adjusting themselves to changing conditions, they display, at the close of the period surveyed, unimpaired vigor and activity. If,

¹The suit was filed March 27, heard April 17. See newspapers under these dates. For a chronological summary of Illinois primary legislation, see Appendix C.

then, a legal system of direct nominations has not proved inconsistent with the continuance of "professional" control of the party process, what may be said of the companion assumption that the people would bring out well-qualified candidates and select the best of these as the party nominees?

Reserving for the present any statement as to the quality of the men named in the 1926 primary, it is clear at the outset that the "people," as such, had little if anything to do with their selection, at least in the first instance. The nominating process, as it has developed in Cook County, has resolved itself into two distinct stages. These are: first, the selection, by the rival party factions, of complete "slates" or tickets; second, a campaign of appeals to the electorate, in which each faction urges the choice of its entire slate. The second stage resembles, for each party, a miniature general election, though it is, of course, a ratification of the nominations offered by the factional groups. What has occurred, however, is not that a new process of nomination has come into existence—one in which the voters participate directly—but that the old and familiar method of selection by interested groups is pushed back an additional stage by the interposition of this ratifying process. If the "machine" or "organization" in a party is supreme, because of the absence of a competing "organization" or the lack of any substantial demand within the party for upsetting the "machine," the ratifying process becomes futile, and the party candidates are selected much as they were before the direct primary came into existence—by the caucus or convention of the dominant or-

ganization. The latter will make its choices with due recognition that the nominees must run a double scrutiny, but it must be recalled that even under the older convention system considerations of party harmony, the desire to win the election, and other motives of expediency introduced a considerable element of responsibility into the deliberations of party leaders. Furthermore, where, as in Cook County, no legally regulated pre-primary convention exists, nominations by factions before the primary are made by narrower and less representative groups than was the case under the delegate convention system.

Where two or more well-defined factions within the party exist, the ratification process takes on more significance, as the voters have a chance to pass on the merits of the slates offered by each group. The factions may, it is true, present their slates as a whole and attempt to submerge the question of the qualifications of individuals beneath the effort to secure a ratification of the leadership of the group sponsoring them. But this is precisely the technique of a party in a general election, and if voters are unable to single out fit candidates in the one case or the other, this is not the fault of the primary system. On the contrary, the primary ballot has no "factional columns" to make it easy for the voter. He must register a choice. The real difficulty is of course that too often it is Hobson's choice. In the bitter rivalry between factions, independent candidates, unless backed by an organization comparable in strength to that of the regular factions, have no chance to win, and the party voter is often given the distasteful task of deciding be-

tween two notoriously unqualified men. All these considerations suggest that the really significant part of the primary is not, paradoxically enough, the primary itself, but the selection of factional nominees which precedes it. The so-called primary campaign has more shouting, horn-blowing and band-playing, attracts far more publicity and attention, and presents many more interesting illustrations of the operations of human political psychology. But it is, after all, only a modified form of general election, worth careful analysis, indeed, but largely as an illustration of a type of electoral process. The real selection of candidates is done in the preprimary caucuses and conventions. A careful consideration of the methods by which the various factions selected their slates in this primary campaign is therefore essential.

In general it may be said that the factional tickets were all made up in about the same way, following the procedure familiar to caucuses of party leaders under the convention system. Two main stages may be distinguished: first, the formation of a board of strategy or "slate committee"; second, the selection of candidates by this committee. Considering first the slate committee we may inquire: What determines the composition of this board? No hard-and-fast rule may here be laid down. In essence, the choice of the strategy board epitomizes the selection of the whole slate, since the various groups and elements which must be recognized in the choice of candidates will necessarily demand representation on the body which chooses the candidates. We will of course expect to find the factional chiefs themselves, or the lieutenants accustomed to representing

them; next, those holding key offices in the government of the city or county which give them power entitling them to recognition; finally, leaders of local units of the faction, or of significant racial or class groups which cannot be ignored, including individuals having an important personal following. These different elements may be observed on the committees functioning at this time for the factional groups.

The Crowe-Barrett strategy board was reported, on January 6, to include the following: State's Attorney Crowe, County Reviewer Barrett, County Reviewer Weber (country-towns leader), Homer K. Galpin (leader of Twenty-seventh Ward and chairman of the Republican county committee), George F. Harding (leader of the negro wards), County Assessors Ringer and Krutckoff, Sanitary Trustees Eller and King (all ward leaders and important office-holders), Circuit Judge William V. Brothers (Evanston leader), Fred E. Erickson (state tax commissioner under Governor Small and leader of the Thirty-first Ward), George Hitzman (Thirty-sixth Ward leader with a following in adjacent wards), State Representative John W. Gibson (Forty-seventh Ward committeeman, given recognition because he did not follow Brundage when he broke to Deneen), and Edward H. Wright (colored leader in Second Ward and Small's state commerce commissioner). This group was put together before Brundage and Thompson had definitely lined up with the Crowe-Barrett group. After January 20 Thompson and Brundage, or the latter's representatives, sat regularly with the slate committee.

The Deneen conference was from time to time re-

ported to contain the following: County Recorder Joe Haas, County Reviewer Litsinger, Municipal Court Clerk James A. Kearns, Probate Court Clerk John F. Devine, and County Commissioner William Busse, besides Roy O. West, secretary of the National Republican Committee, and Thomas J. Healy, both close associates of the senator. Mr. Deneen of course joined the group on his visits to the city.

The nominating committee of the regular Democratic group was theoretically a more representative group, consisting of twenty-one office-holders and ward committeemen of the Brennan organization, presided over by Mr. Brennan himself. The committee on candidates of the "Democracy of Illinois" was announced as including William L. O'Connell, chairman, Edward F. Dunne, Carter H. Harrison, James Hamilton Lewis, Alderman Oscar F. Nelson, Emil Selten, Walter Goral-ski, Edward F. Brennan, and William H. Ehemann. It was considered to be representative of the elements in the party dissatisfied with Mr. Brennan's leadership.

Assuming that the slate committees have been constituted and are in session at the factional headquarters, how are the men to be slated for the different positions selected? We may fairly compare what occurs with the "higgling of the market" in the economic process of price-fixing, the following being the chief factors operating: (1) The actual political strength and bargaining power of the leaders themselves. Roughly measured by the number of votes controlled, this may also be affected by other matters, such as the personality of the leader, which enables him to count for more than another in the

actual process of bargaining; prestige derived from occupying a strong office; key position occupied in the campaign; control of doubtful votes; and the like. (2) Representations made by ward-leaders for themselves or their followers. These will have weight in the same way that the leaders have weight. Likewise one must consider the necessity for rewarding these leaders roughly according to their political service—they must be kept loyal. (3) Claims of candidates. These may be based on personal service demanding reward, the fact that the individual represents a group demanding recognition, vote-getting ability on his part. (4) Recognition of the racial, social, and economic composition of the electorate. The principle of a “well-balanced ticket” is particularly important in Chicago because of its well-defined racial elements, its marked variance in economic status from district to district, and the disastrous consequences likely to befall a group which ignores important elements of the population.

These factors being borne constantly in mind, the actual process of slate-making consists in the proposal, from day to day, of prospective nominees; their consideration by the committee; the announcement of tentative slates; hearings granted to ward delegations, representatives of racial or religious groups and of organizations such as those of ex-service men; reconstruction of the slate in the light of current developments; and the final creation of a list of candidates meeting as nearly as possible all the requirements and satisfying, in a roughly equitable fashion, the demands of leaders, sections, groups, and classes for recognition. The daily

discussion of the tentative slates in the committee and in the press serves the useful function of bringing to light weaknesses which had not been recognized, testing out the popularity of proposed candidates and their acceptability to the various interests composing the faction, the discovery of vote-getting ability in unexpected quarters, and measuring the real weight of party sentiment behind demands made before the committee. "Not every name that boils to the surface in the Crowe-Barrett slatemakers' pot slips into the skimmer," remarked W. C. I. Hallowell in the *Herald and Examiner*. The reason for this, of course, was that not every proposed name met the tests of discussion and publicity, and that only those remained on the slate that possessed solid backing and promised to gain the united support of the organization and hence to run well in the primary.

We may illustrate this process more concretely by following the discussions of slate-making by the Crowe-Barrett faction as they appeared from day to day in the press. As early as January 6 Republican slate-makers were reported to be "working feverishly." The Crowe-Barrett strategy board had been formed the previous day, and it was announced that Joseph Savage had been definitely selected as the candidate for county judge. The committee was also said to have agreed on Assessor Charles Ringer for president of the County Board to oppose William Busse if he ran (presumably because both would appeal to the German vote). All office-holding members of the faction were to be indorsed, including Barrett, King and Eller, Passmore and Oliver. It was also considered probable that no opponent would be

offered to Frank P. Brady, clerk of the Appellate Court. On the seventh, announcement was made of the "County Convention" to be held January 26, and slate-making continued actively. The names of nine sitting judges and eighteen aspirants were presented to the committee. The news of this day also included a statement to the effect that former Mayor Thompson had decided to lend his aid to this group. The defection of William Busse and his country-towns organization to the Deneen side together with his candidacy for president of the County Board came to be known at this time.

On January 15, Mr. Brundage returned to the Crowe-Barrett fold. The terms were said to be that he would be allowed to name the following candidates: president of the County Board and three county commissioners, one of the two assessors, three municipal judges, and a judge of the probate court. Francis L. Boutell, alderman from the Forty-eighth Ward, was mentioned for County Board president, and Lewis Nettleshorst, chief deputy to the clerk of the Circuit Court and Fiftieth Ward committeeman, for assessor.

On the nineteenth the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson organization met in the Rose Room of the Sherman Hotel to ratify candidates and in general to welcome the return of Brundage. Concerning some of the candidates it was said:

The entry of George F. Harding for county treasurer brings William Hale Thompson forward as a big factor in that faction's campaign. Harding has been acting as the political spokesman for "Big Bill" since the former mayor's break with Fred Lundin, the state administration patronage dispenser. . . . The sheriff's place on the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson slate was

given to George B. Arnold, state director of labor, as a sop for Edward H. Wright, of the Illinois Commerce Commission, one of the leaders in the south side black belt. George Hitzman was landed in the probate clerk's place to appease a group of north-west side wards that started to boom him for sheriff several months ago.²

Another selection at this time was Charles S. Peterson, Forty-third Ward, for county commissioner. He was one of the three Republicans sitting for the city in the County Commission, the other seven being Democrats. Originally counted as a Deneen man, Peterson was reported to have owed his nomination four years ago to Mr. Brundage, at whose request he was placed on the slate at this time. Three judges are mentioned as Brundage selections: Herbert W. Auw, Forty-fourth Ward, Stanley Armstrong, Forty-fifth, and Leo Klein, first assistant federal district attorney, Forty-sixth Ward. The meeting in the Rose Room we have mentioned amounted to a love feast between Brundage, Thompson, and the Crowe-Barrett group. In the subsequent discussions three other Brundage suggestions appeared: George H. Hough, Forty-fourth Ward, an assistant state's attorney, for probate judge; George Seebacher, Forty-fifth Ward, and Harry Newby, master in chancery, Forty-ninth Ward committeeman, for county commissioner.

Several decisions were made by the slate committee on the twentieth. It was decided to retain Adam Wolf as candidate for assessor, though he was over sixty-nine and some thought he ought to yield to a younger man.

² *Journal*, January 19.

He had the distinction of having served since the creation of the Board of Assessors and having been elected four times. His friends, notably Judge Kickham Scanlan, secured his retention. Judge Scanlan, it may be noted, was one of the Crowe-Barrett circuit judges participating in the Crowe-Barrett-Brennan combination to share the control of the South Park Board. Charles Graydon, Twenty-eighth Ward committeeman, ice-dealer, and former member of Governor Small's West Park Board, was slated as running-mate for King and Eller on the Sanitary Board. These two choices eliminated Nettlehorst, who had been thought of for one of these positions, and John W. Gibson, talked of for assessor; hence these two were placed on the county commissioner list. On the twenty-second George Harding was insisting on Judge William R. Fetzer and Judge Laurance B. Jacobs. Thompson was backing Judge John A. Bugee, and these three were placed on the list for municipal judge. A strong Brundage man was named to oppose County Clerk Sweitzer, namely LeRoy Millner, former inheritance-tax attorney under Attorney-General Brundage, and committeeman from the Forty-first Ward.

As the date for the convention approached, the slate was hurried to completion. The work was practically completed on the twenty-third, on which day appeared the names of John A. Pelka, Twenty-first Ward, recently chosen to fill a vacancy on the County Board, A. C. Metzger, Eighth Ward (Harding-Snow), and Louis Golan, Twenty-ninth Ward (Thompson), all for county commissioner. New names for municipal judge were

John Sbarbaro and Robert E. McMillan, Crowe choices, both being assistant state's attorneys. A Thompson choice for the same office was Harry Klatzco, former superintendent of Lincoln Park. The slate committee was reported to be working day and night at this time. Not all of its choices were discussed in the press, but the foregoing selections from the current comment will indicate the general nature of the negotiations. The uncertainty about the decisions made was shown by the fact that last-minute changes were necessary when the convention was about ready to assemble. These twenty-third-hour choices included U. G. Lee, paymaster of the Chicago Surface Lines, and close friend of Sheriff Hoffman, for clerk of the Supreme Court, and Frances Stockdyk for superintendent of schools. The slate for municipal judge was not made public at the convention, professedly because this was a county not a city convention, probably because it was not ready. Even when the judicial slate was finally announced it had to be modified in one instance. The candidate for school superintendent was also changed, Minnie Whitham of Oak Park, the final selection, being the third name announced for this post. Twenty-one days were thus occupied in these slate-making activities, and even this period seemed insufficient to complete the job. We may reasonably conclude that the harmonizing of such diverse elements as composed this faction, all of them eager for recognition and for a share in the spoils of office, was a difficult task.

An interesting and pertinent inquiry is just how the offices were actually partitioned between the groups. It

is not easy to assign all of the candidates to a definite affiliation, some of them possessing the merit that they were satisfactory to more than one element, some of them being named because of their own personal strength as ward-leaders and vote-getters. Candidates named in their own right include Lawrence F. King and Morris Eller, leaders of the Twelfth and Twentieth wards, respectively, and running for renomination for seats on the Sanitary District Board; George F. Harding and Charles V. Barrett, the former tremendously influential on the South Side, the latter leader of the Twenty-first Ward and co-head with Robert E. Crowe of the faction bearing their names; George Hitzman, with his strong Northwest Side backing; John H. Passmore, a successful and popular clerk of the Criminal Court certain to attract many votes to the ticket; and Titus Haffa, candidate for assessor to fill the vacancy left by the death of M. K. Sheridan, which occurred during the early stages of the campaign. Haffa, who was placed on the ticket after the Crowe-Barrett convention had met, is worth some notice. A former newsboy, he had risen to be head of two manufacturing concerns and dominant figure in Republican affairs in the Forty-third Ward, though still in his early thirties. His activities had included the organization of the Republican Boosters Club of Chicago, which issued its own organ, the *Republican Booster*, during the campaign. Haffa had been a candidate against Municipal Court Clerk James A. Kearns in 1924, and his aggressiveness now earned him another chance for office. His inclinations were toward the Brun-

dage faction. John W. Gibson should also be included in this list.

Distinctively Brundage nominees were LeRoy Millner for county clerk; Hough for probate judge; Boutell for president of the County Board; Peterson, Newby, and Nettlehorst for county commissioner; and Klein, Armstrong, and Auw for municipal judge. The Thompson, or Thompson-Harding, label was applied to Metzger and Golan for county commissioner, and to Klatzco, Jacobs, Bugee, and Fetzer for municipal judge. Concessions to the Small interest were Francis P. Brady, for Appellate Court clerk; George B. Arnold for sheriff; and possibly Charles Graydon for the Sanitary Board, who had been a Small appointee, though now owing his nomination to the Crowe-Barrett influence. The Weber-Hoffman country-towns interest was represented by the five nominees for county commissioner from outside the city; Gene Oliver, the country-towns nominee for assessor; U. G. Lee for Supreme Court clerk; and possibly Minnie Whitham, candidate for school superintendent, who resided in Oak Park. The remainder of the slate may be charged to the Crowe-Barrett group proper. Savage, candidate for county judge, was Crowe's special candidate, though he appeared to be particularly interested also in the chances of Robert E. McMillan, whom he had rewarded as the most successful precinct captain in his own ward, and John Sbarbaro, the latter two both assistants in his office. Wolf was from Crowe's ward and Pelka from Barrett's, while Gerds was sponsored by Assessor Ringer. Goins, the solitary representative of the negro race on the ticket, while suggested by Edward

H. Wright, may be considered a recognition of the Crowe-Barrett Second Ward organization rather than of Small influence.

The foregoing analysis, while no doubt neglecting much that was considered by the slate committee, nevertheless represents the consensus of newspaper opinion concerning the shares taken by the constituent parts of the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson faction in creating the factional ticket, and indicates, in a general way, the relative importance of the different elements. Many believed that the Brundage faction was over-represented, and that Brundage had driven an exceptionally good bargain in securing so many places. He was awarded, in fact, exactly the nominations promised him except that the county clerk's place was substituted for that of assessor, an apparent improvement. It was pointed out by others, however, that no matter who was nominated for County Board president, probate judge, and county clerk on the Republican ticket, these places would certainly be won in the general election by the Democrats Cermak, Horner, and Sweitzer, not only because these three were successful officials and popular vote-getters, but because these places had already been assigned to the Democrats in a bi-partisan trade arranged between Crowe and Brennan. If this rumor were true, these three Brundage nominees were mere straw men to be knocked down. The other six places—possibly seven if Boutell could be elected as commissioner though not as president of the County Board—were not an unfair share for the Brundage men.

This detailed analysis of Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-

Thompson slate-making will serve to reveal the nature of the process, better perhaps than would a close study of the work of the other candidate committees, which, indeed, had less complicated tasks. Deneen slate-making was somewhat simplified by the fact that a much more homogeneous group was being dealt with. Three chief problems seemed to have been kept in mind by the Deneen committee. First, the proper recognition of the followings of the chief Deneen lieutenants, particularly of Haas and Litsinger, rival aspirants for Deneen support for the mayoralty nomination. Secondly, efforts were made to strengthen the ticket by drawing in adherents of the rival groups where they could be detached. A master stroke of Senator Deneen was his alliance with County Commissioner William Busse, twenty years member of the County Board, and State Senator Roos, both strong components in the country-towns organization which had supported McCormick in 1924. These now aligned themselves with Deneen and were supported for renomination, Busse being slated for president of the County Board. Another accession was Coroner Oscar Wolff, who deserted the Crowe-Barrett group owing to differences with Mr. Crowe and was placed as candidate for Board of Review against Mr. Barrett. A third case was that of Alderman Arthur F. Albert, of the Forty-third Ward, formerly an associate of Titus Haffa, with roots in the Brundage organization. Albert, as he put it, was "left stranded" when Brundage returned to Crowe-Barrett after the "harmony negotiations." He had attracted attention in the City Council by his attacks on the management of the Sanitary District, and

was placed by Deneen as a candidate for the Sanitary Board, where his fearlessness and aggressiveness were counted on to give zest to the campaign. Finally, a decision had to be reached concerning the inclusion of adherents of Governor Small in the list of Deneen indorsees. Expediency finally dictated certain concessions to the governor's party, and Small-Lundin men were indorsed for sheriff, two county commissioners, one sanitary trusteeship, besides Brady, the Crowe-Barrett choice for Appellate Court clerk, who was not opposed.

The predominance of the Brennan group in the Democratic party gave the slate-makers of that faction the appearance of a selection of a real party ticket. The nominating committee functioned as a subgroup of the regular county committee, and every effort was apparently made to produce the impression that no direct primary was necessary. The personnel of the committee was made public on January 22, and subcommittees for legislative and congressional candidates and to confer with downstate leaders on state-wide offices were named. A few days later it was announced that the main committee would establish what amounted to an open forum by allowing interested persons of recognized standing and influence to appear before it to express themselves on candidates and issues. Civic groups like the Bar Association, Better Government Association, Association of Commerce, and Women's City Club were expected to be heard. The various nationality groups were heard at intervals, the interests of the country towns were presented by mayors, aldermen, Democratic elected officials, and committeemen, special groups like those

of ex-service men were given a hearing, and the demands of the various ward organizations for recognition were thoroughly aired. This process continued until just before the "county convention," scheduled for February 7. A large crop of prospective candidates appeared, more, naturally, than in the case of the Crowe-Barrett committee, and tentative slates were announced. The final selections seemed to indicate that the "open forum" idea was merely a perfunctory gesture, since organization interests were given a monopoly of the ticket. Seventeen of the fifty committeemen from city wards received places, and the others were properly sponsored by regular leaders. A complete ticket was prepared, including candidates for municipal judge, Congress, and the state legislature as well as the county and state officials to be chosen. The greatest gap on the Democratic ticket was the absence of a name for United States Senator, Mr. Brennan not yet having become a candidate.

Of all of the factional slates, that of the "Democracy of Illinois" gave the public the least view of its formation. It was announced as a whole, except for the judicial candidates, and in such a way as to give the effect of a surprise attack on the Brennan organization. It was, moreover, incomplete, offering no candidates for state or country-district offices, sheriff, county clerk, or superintendent of schools, and only five for municipal judge. There was much to warrant the assertion made by an attorney for the Brennan group in opposing a recount petitioned for by the "Democracy of Illinois": "They are not a faction, but only a flea bite."³

³ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 10.

Though in some measure only a species of campaign propaganda, the "county conventions" of the Crowe and Brennan factions may be considered part of the process of slate-making. The Crowe-Barrett convention had been announced early in January as scheduled for the twenty-sixth of the month, and the strategy committee had been obliged to hasten its efforts in order to have the ticket ready by that time. The day before the convention, a so-called advisory committee of citizens, numbering in the vicinity of two hundred, was called together and the list of candidates was submitted to it for approval. The meeting of this committee was no more than a campaign gesture, since it did nothing save listen to speeches and accept the platform and ticket without a murmur of disapproval. Some viewed it as a deliberate attempt at deceit, since, although this group had been "hand-picked" by the Crowe-Barrett interests, it was referred to in precisely the same terms as the "Citizens' Committee of 200," a genuine civic group having an entirely different origin.⁴ This view was supported by the fact that the copies of the Crowe-Barrett ticket and platform later circulated were headed by the statement: "Approved by the Citizen's Committee of 200." The real committee of 200 had been ignored by the Crowe-Barrett leaders.⁵

On the day following the meeting of this committee,

⁴ A friendly reporter assisted the deception by using the following language relative to this meeting: "Both slate and platform will be submitted to the citizen's committee of 200, which has asked to be considered by the political chieftains in the selection of candidates and the formulation of policies." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 25.

⁵ See chap. x.

the convention assembled in the ballroom of the Sherman Hotel. No effort was spared to make this affair a demonstration of factional enthusiasm and unity. Delegates from every precinct in the county were said to be present, and the crowd was estimated at 3,500 persons. The platform was presented by William Hale Thompson as chairman of the resolutions committee, advocated in a rousing "patriotic" speech, and adopted by acclamation. The slate, read by the chairman, Judge Hebel, was adopted on motion of State's Attorney Crowe. Finally, the candidates lined up before the chairman, who administered to them an oath to support the platform. These formalities were rather perfunctory, the greatest interest being excited by the reappearance on the political stage of Mr. Thompson, the setting for whose oratorical effort was well prepared by patriotic pageantry, including a parade of ex-service men headed by impersonations of Washington and Lincoln and a trio in costume representing the "Spirit of '76." Other familiar convention features were to be noted—the platform was crowded with factional celebrities, speeches lauding the candidates and issues and striking the keynote of party victory were delivered by Edward H. Wright, Robert E. Crowe, and others. The corridors teemed with political gossip. It may be remarked that all of this had nothing to do with the selection of the candidates, but neither under the "convention system" did the convention, save in rare instances, choose the nominees. It served, rather, as a means of announcing to the rank and file the decisions of the leaders, and of giving the signal for the beginning of the campaign. Here, of course, the fact that

the primary rather than the general election was in prospect and a faction was concerned rather than the whole party deprived the occasion of some of its authenticity. It served well enough, however, as a demonstration of factional strength and as a means of unifying the diverse elements of the group.

The Democratic county convention, which assembled on February 7, was projected on a somewhat grander scale. Car Men's Hall, a large auditorium, was the scene of the affair, and the delegates and visitors numbered in the vicinity of 14,000. Bands, flags, horns, bells, and other noise-makers were much in evidence. Wild demonstrations and "impromptu" parades greeted the names of favorite candidates or county or local leaders. Mayor Dever, as permanent chairman, delivered the keynote speech. The chairman of the resolutions committee, Michael L. Igoe, read in full the rather long and elaborate platform; the names of candidates were presented by Mr. Brennan and Francis X. Busch, chairmen of the respective committees. All of the recommendations were accepted with acquiescent enthusiasm, the sole note of protest being a demand from the floor for sincerity on the part of legislative candidates in support of the "wet" plank. The most significant feature of this gathering was the fact that it professed to be a genuine county convention of the party, presenting, not recommendations to be acted on at the primary, but nominees for the party ticket at the general election. This was only a realistic view of the situation, as may be seen from the fact that the Brennan slate of above a hundred candi-

dates was broken in only one single instance, a legislative seat in the Fourth District.

At the termination of the period of slate-making, then, we observe in the field four lists of candidates, constructed in each case by "slate-making committees" or caucuses of factional leaders, and including representatives of those interests whose recognition was essential to maintaining the integrity of the faction. The primary consideration in the selection of the nominees was their contribution to factional harmony and success rather than their qualifications for successfully performing the duties of the offices for which they were running. This latter point was not entirely overlooked, to be sure, but the greater the strength of the faction, the better its organization, the greater its chance for "putting over" its slate in the primary by machine and organization methods, the less attention it paid to the fitness of the candidates. The formal demands of civic and reform groups for well-qualified candidates on the slates were generally ignored, the avowed or implicit reasons being contempt for visionary and impractical idealists, a Jacksonian notion that any person who could get an office was qualified to fill it, a belief that factional leaders were more competent to select candidates than "outsiders" pretending to represent the public, and, finally, a not unfounded conclusion that such recommendations could be discounted because of the lack of interest of the "general public" in its self-appointed spokesmen. In the absence, therefore, of strong pressure of public opinion or the imperious demands of specific non-political groups, the candidates tended to conform to the current standards of political

morality. Men of ability would tend to come to the front in this as in other fields, but since ability must necessarily be accompanied by willingness to make the compromises essential to survival in a situation of spoils politics, there was no guaranty that it would be exercised more than incidentally in the public interest. Moreover, in a long list of candidates representing diverse factors, it was inevitable that in many cases fitness for office was entirely ignored.

These considerations amount to little more than saying, as we noticed in the beginning, that the selection of slates for the primaries closely resembled the choice of a convention slate by a caucus of party leaders. Although a pretended "convention" was included in two cases, the slate committee in effect did the work of both caucus and convention subject to the referendum of the primary—a referendum which promised to have significance in proportion to the existence of a close factional contest within the party. Since the fitness of the men selected for office was only one, and perhaps a minor, consideration in causing them to be slated, the primary election takes on the aspect not so much of a deliberate selection of candidates by the public, since here the choice is narrow, as of a forum for the development of a new technique of election appeals. The primary election of 1926, which we are examining, presented a rich variety of such "appeals" and "issues," and to these we will now direct our attention.

CHAPTER III

THE WORLD COURT ISSUE

We have now examined the process by which the different factional groups selected the lists of candidates which constituted their slates or tickets. This important preliminary being settled, it remained for their leaders to select the "issues" which would be made the basis of the appeals to the voters for support of their slates. The favored issues of the different groups will now be considered in a series of chapters, concluding with an examination of the campaign methods by which they were popularized and "put across."

There is little doubt that the question commanding the greatest attention during the campaign was the so-called "World Court issue." That it would have a place in the senatorial race was inevitable from the fact that in December and January the Senate was giving final consideration to the ratification of the resolution declaring our adherence to the Court. Frank L. Smith, the opponent of Senator McKinley for the Republican nomination, had given the matter attention in his early statements, and McKinley's record was being made by his speeches and vote in the Senate. The selection of the Court as an issue between the Republican county factions requires more explanation. "Observer," in the *Herald and Examiner*, offered the following account:

When the big parade first started the experts on mob psychology in this camp [Crowe-Barrett] cast about for a slogan with

which they could properly dramatize the opening day. The world court debate was then sizzling in the senate. The gents in the listening posts reported the people rising everywhere on an America First platform. The newspapers were full of it. Why not get astride the high tide and whoop it up for the anti-court side?¹

Not only did this offer the enormous possibilities latent in a "patriotic issue," but there were still other advantages. The harmony negotiations had failed, and a bitter fight was in prospect. Only by close co-operation between the members of the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson combination, a group which had little but expediency to unite it, could success be achieved. If local matters alone were discussed, its essential lack of unity might prove fatal. Something must be found on which all could agree. One such matter was of course "home rule" and opposition to Governor Small, but this could not be pressed too far without alienating Small henchmen whose support was expected. The World Court question, on the other hand, met every requirement. It was vague enough and remote enough to be susceptible of manipulation according to the needs of the situation. Senator Deneen, leader of the opposing local group, was for the Court, and though this was also true of McKinley, a Crowe-Barrett ally, the possibility of his being injured was discounted or neglected.

Out of these circumstances arose the adoption of the "World Court issue" by the Crowe-Barrett faction. The use of the plank was forecast in the earliest announcement of the "county convention" of this group. The anti-court planks thus adopted read as follows:

¹ *Herald and Examiner*, March 14.

We stand for Home Rule in

CITY	COUNTY	STATE	NATION
AMERICA FIRST!		NO WORLD COURT!	

We believe that the interests of our country can best be promoted by adhering strictly to the wise policy laid down by George Washington, of maintaining friendly relations with all foreign nations, but entering into entangling alliances with none, and that it should be maintained as a permanent policy of the United States.

We believe that the participation of our government as a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, commonly called the World Court, is fraught with grave danger to our national peace and prosperity because in our judgment such course would ultimately result in making this country a part of the League of Nations. We protest against any situation which would require the American boy and American wealth to be drafted for the purpose of settling quarrels between foreign governments, in which quarrels we have no interest.

We believe all international disputes in which our country may be a party can be satisfactorily adjudicated through the agency of the Hague Court without endangering our autonomy.

An informal invitation was sent to Senator Borah by Thompson on January 29, and it was understood that he was prepared to address a massmeeting in Chicago on condition that it was given more than a local significance.

All of ex-Mayor Thompson's talent for showmanship and pageantry was employed to give to Borah's visit an importance that would stamp the local campaign with national significance. Letters were circulated over his signature inviting the citizens of Chicago to "assist in keeping Old Glory at the masthead by taking part in the decorated automobile parade" to welcome the sena-

tors, and Louis Behan, parade chairman, secured 2,160 cars, including 200 supplied by ex-service men, and ten bands mostly paid for by Crowe-Barrett candidates. Delegations from outside Chicago were arranged for, including 1,200 persons from southern Illinois and others from points as far distant as Pueblo, Colorado. A committee of welcome greeted Mr. Borah, conducted him to the Field Museum, where the congressional salute of seventeen bombs was fired, down the outer drive to Monroe Street between the rows of decorated cars which followed the official party on a thirty-five-mile drive through the city, finally installing the senator in the presidential bungalow on the roof of the Hotel Sherman.

As expected, William Hale Thompson acted as temporary chairman of the meeting. His appearance with his campaign sombrero evoked something of a demonstration. Senator Borah proceeded to read his address, looking up from his manuscript occasionally to give measured utterance to a chosen bit of apt phraseology. Since his speech served as a text for local campaigners, the gist of his argument is worth noticing.

1. Washington is the "most massive figure in the political history of the world"; his foreign policy is responsible for the prosperity, progress and power of the United States.

2. The move to enter the world court is part of a deliberate effort to abandon this policy and enter into a scheme of international domination and control, the chief source of whose inspiration and power is in the old world.

3. In 1920 more than a majority of the Senate were in favor of joining the League, but the people kept us out by a seven million majority. Since then a flank movement to get us into the League has been promoted by League advocates, including the in-

ternational bankers interested in protecting their European investments.

4. The court is merely the instrument of the League, which in turn is "the sorry, sordid lackey of the Versailles treaty."

5. "Gag rule" was imposed to keep the voice of the people from being heard. We are carrying the issue to the people themselves, before whom we cannot be gagged.

6. The reservations adopted are ineffective. Reservations are merely excuses for voting for something which you do not believe in, but which it is politically unwise for you to oppose. The Senate rejected the only reservation which could really protect us, providing that no nation would go to war to enforce a decision of the court. This proves that the court is not an instrument of peace.

7. We can not trust European nations. Imperialism flourishes and wars still rage. Weak countries like Syria have been trampled. We are told we can trust England, yet her use of the rubber monopoly to make us pay her debt to us shows how little we can rely on her favor.

8. "Until they are willing to build their scheme upon peace instead of imperialism, in the name of our common country, let us stand by the policies of George Washington."²

²With this compare Mr. Thompson's later speech on the World Court. As his speech epitomized much of the effort of the campaign and embodies more of its spirit than any other single effort, we reproduce a portion of it, as heard from the stage of the Olympic Theatre, April 8.

"All this argument for the world court [he suggested] is a lot of propaganda for the King of England. They tell us that we ought to trust England—that she is our friend. Well, the King got control of all the rubber, and raised the price enough to pay all their debt to us. That shows they're pretty friendly, doesn't it. Then the King got control of coffee, and is doing the same thing. I shouldn't be surprised if the King had something to do with slipping over the Volstead Act on us so that all their distillers can make fortunes selling us bootleg liquor. You are paying them a billion dollars on just these three items.

"How do they do it? By using our pro-British Senators to vote down Old Glory! I admit I never expected much of McKinley, with him running over to see the King every summer. He likes it over there so well that with your help we'll fix it on April 13th so that he can spend his winters there too!

"I helped elect Charley Deneen senator. I thought he was an

That Borah was personally well received was clear; was the demonstration equally effective from the point of view of Mr. Thompson and his colleagues? It is true that the crowd was smaller than anticipated. The streets were not blocked, as the early newspapers stated; the hall was not even filled to capacity—12,000 was the *Tribune's* estimate. The applause, too, was largely manufactured. But the crowd liked what it was hearing. It

American. But he hadn't been in Washington a year before the King got him. I apologize for what I did.

"For the second time in the history of the United States of America they voted for gag rule. They were afraid and ashamed to let anyone know what they were doing. They won't tell you now—ask them about the court and they reply 'watch me throw this hunk of mud!' That bell-hop McKinley refused to debate with Frank Smith. If the two had ever stood on a platform together McKinley wouldn't get enough votes to know he was running. Smith looks, acts and talks like a senator.

"That poor, miserable reprobate, McKinley, says 'don't blame me—the party wanted me to vote for the court,' and tries to hide behind that great American, Coolidge. I predict that Coolidge will before long announce that he wants us out of the court—he keeps his ear to the ground.

"I hear McKinley is on his second million now. . . . They say he's a good business man. What kind of business do you call it to spend a million to get a \$7,500 job—unless there's some business going on we don't know about. You might expect anything of a man who voted to haul down the flag and destroy American institutions.

"It's a lie to say they voted for the world court. There isn't any world court. What it is is the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations. One of the reasons they stopped debate was to keep us from finding out what their 'world court' really is.

"The international bankers put the world court planks in both party platforms. Let's hope that the people will find some new way to nominate a president and make a platform so we can get out of the clutches of the international bankers.

"They say we are bi-partisan because the democrats are helping us keep Old Glory at the masthead, when thirty-one democrats helped them pull it down!

"Charley and Willie think it takes seven Yankees to lick a Britisher. Well, I'm pretty old and fat, but I'll guarantee to lick any Britisher my weight. If they are so good, why don't they send someone over to lick Jack Dempsey. Why couldn't they lick Jim Jeffries. It seems to

responded well to the appeal to the fathers, the flag, and the greatness of America; the references to "gag rule" stirred it; condemnation of "the League" evoked a response characteristic of what appears to have become a traditional pattern of thought in this country; finally, denunciations of Europe and twistings of the lion's tail were loudly cheered. The newspapers, moreover, considered it a highly successful affair. This was true not

me I remember that dear old John L. Sullivan used to go over to England and lick a couple of Britishers every night.

"We'll get rid of one of our pro-British senators on April 13th.

"I'm not in this campaign for anything for myself. I think there is great danger ahead. We stand at the crossroads. You always stood by Bill when he needed you. When they called me Kaiser Bill and the newspapers bribed with English money called me a traitor you reelected me as mayor to prove I was right. When you need me I owe it to you, and I'll be here.

"I see a picture in my mind of the nations gathered around the table at Geneva where John Bull has seven votes to our one. The different ones are telling about unemployment and distress in their countries. Uncle Sam says that everyone in America is happy and prosperous. They suggest that the American tariff be lowered so they can sell us goods and start their factories moving. Uncle Sam protests—that would throw American laborers out of work. You object!, says John Bull. Well, majority rules, *call the roll*.

"After the war I saved Chicago from the bread line and the soup kitchen with my Pageant of Progress, and I don't ever want to see anything like that in America.

"All this may happen if you're not alert. McKinley and Deneen will vote you into the league: the flag of internationalism will be raised above Old Glory, the Constitution nullified, all American institutions as laid down by the Fathers struck down.

"They'll call the roll on the repudiation of all war debts, and what they don't pay, you've got to pay. Thirty billions—no wonder McKinley is willing to pay a million to save that much for the King.

"They've had twenty-eight wars since the armistice, one for every ninety days. After they get Uncle Sam in they'll have one every sixty days.

"The King wants it so—McKinley and Deneen are voting so—let's be rid of them at the first possible time.

"I'm here to prevent you from suffering. I need not be in this campaign at all. I'm not running. I love our flag, and want nothing over it—want us to be left alone."

only of the friendly press, but even of the pro-Court *Evening Post*, which remarked:

Politically the affair was considered a masterpiece by the friends and admirers of "Big Bill." . . . It was a typical Thompson demonstration, the kind "Big Bill" and his followers like to pull off. . . . It was a big and highly successful show. The stage had been carefully set and the seasoned politicians saw to it that there was no slip of consequence. Senator Borah had a sympathetic audience.

The precautions taken by the local managers included measures to reap the full benefit of the occasion for the local Crowe-Barrett campaign. While, in deference to Senator Borah, local questions were not mentioned, the meeting had all the earmarks of a factional rally. The platform was crowded with leaders of the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson group, every member of the audience was provided with a copy of the "Home Rule platform." The satisfaction of the factionalists with their handiwork was demonstrated at a banquet attended by 2,800 guests the same evening at Rainbo Gardens, which resembled a "love feast" after a great victory. Borah also spoke.

The problem next confronting the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson leaders was to keep the World Court issue alive until the primary, now seven weeks distant. This difficulty was partly met by Mr. Thompson, who announced, at the close of the Borah rally, that Senator Shipstead, "that stalwart Scandinavian-American," would be brought to Chicago on St. Patrick's Day. Senator Shipstead made less personal appeal to the crowd and his arguments were less convincing. His radi-

cal attitude aroused little sympathy, and an attempted constitutional analysis went over the heads of the audience. On the other hand his invective against the League of Nations struck a responsive chord, and his phrases characterizing it as an imperialistic superdictatorship of the world based on force, an instrument of war not of peace, served well enough to revive the memories of Borah's arguments. No attempt was made to disguise the fact that this was a factional rally, speeches being made directly appealing for votes for the Home-Rule slate. In spite of the apparent harmony of the occasion, indications were not lacking that some dissension existed as to the wisdom of the course being pursued in connection with the World Court issue.

One reason for believing that the World Court issue was being overplayed was the impatience expressed by many of the newspapers with the attempt to make the Court effective as a local issue. A second was the attitude of Edward J. Brundage, just returned from Europe, who felt that this type of campaigning was hurting Senator McKinley, whom he supported, and who was still supposed to be the choice of the Crowe-Barrett group. Furthermore there was considerable feeling that William Hale Thompson was "hogging the show." By this time the ex-mayor had perfected (?) a speech which he used regularly during the remainder of the campaign, and which, with various ramifications, could be made to last an hour and a half. A version of this address served for Thompson's introduction of Senator Shipstead, but so long was it extended that it left for the senator only ten minutes of the time scheduled for broadcasting over

Station WQJ. The newspapers of March 23 and 24 reported that Crowe-Barrett leaders in executive session had voted down Thompson's plea for continuing the campaign along the lines already projected. More than this, two days later came the report in an evening newspaper of an open quarrel between Thompson and Robert E. Crowe in which the former mayor was reported to have made threats of personal violence against the state's attorney.

These events marked the low-water mark of the World Court as an issue in the campaign. In the end, as we shall see, it played an extremely important part in the victory gained by the Home-Rule group. How may we account for its renewed vitality and effectiveness? Four factors seem to have been important: (1) the necessity for maintaining factional harmony; (2) the success of organization work based on the World Court issue; (3) newspaper propaganda against the World Court; (4) the development of the senatorial race into an alliance of the anti-Court senatorial candidate with the local anti-Court faction.

1. The Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Harding-Thompson alliance had so often been criticized as unnatural and as certain to collapse, that any appearance of dissension was fraught with grave danger to its hope of a successful campaign. Hence it was imperative that the rumor of a quarrel between Thompson and Crowe be immediately suppressed. Vigorous steps in this direction were taken by the State's Attorney. Libel suits for \$100,000 each were filed against the offending newspaper by the alleged participants in the scuffle, and a complete denial of the

story appeared on the front page of the next day's issue of the same organ. "As a matter of fact, Mr. Thompson and myself were dining in the friendliest way when the incident is said to have happened. We have had no words which could be construed as unpleasant, and a complete understanding exists as to the procedure which is to be followed in our common campaign." At a precinct workers' meeting of the Crowe-Barrett faction at the Sherman Hotel, attended by 3,500, Mr. Crowe formulated his official denial of the incident, repeated frequently on the platform later: "Anyone who knows what a little fellow Thompson is and how big I am knows that it would have been reversed." At this, according to the *Tribune*, the hall roared and Mr. Thompson almost shook himself out of his chair on the platform. At all events, rumors to the contrary, it appeared that the World Court would hold the foreground as an issue, and that William Hale Thompson would be allowed a free hand in conducting at least that phase of the campaign.

2. It was discovered at an early stage of the campaign that the anti-World Court argument was peculiarly effective in gaining signatures to pledge cards. Newspaper propaganda was beginning to produce an effect. Workers naturally became more and more enthusiastic for the issue which was so helpful to them, and the leaders soon realized that this issue was the greatest common factor entering into the pledges made, and the one most likely to bring the voters to the polls prepared to vote the "right ticket." This realization disposed of any question of abandoning or "soft-pedalling" the World Court question.

3. The Hearst campaign against the World Court was one of the outstanding features of the campaign. The *Evening American* from the beginning devoted itself enthusiastically to the cause of Frank L. Smith and highly praised his attacks on the Court. Both its news columns and its occasional editorials were strongly biased in that direction. The morning Hearst paper, the *Herald and Examiner*, by sympathetic treatment of news matter, cartoons, and editorials, made an even more vigorous presentation of the case against the World Court. From the Borah celebration to March 10, editorials on the subject appeared almost daily. On March 24 the subject was re-opened with a series of half-page illustrated editorials which continued until the primary. Since we are particularly interested in observing the type of appeals which were effective with the voters, it will be worth while to analyze in some detail the arguments embodied in this mass of anti-Court propaganda.

1. *Appeals to local pride.*—An attempt was made to identify opposition to the Court with loyalty to the Middle West. Praise was given to a statement of Frank L. Smith that the "essence of sound Middle West Republicanism" is that the United States "will best fulfill its own destiny and best serve civilization by remaining an independent nation, unhampered by obligation to mix in the politics of the eastern hemisphere." Again, the "thinking people of Illinois" to whom McKinley had appealed, were flattered with the assertion that they were quite able to decide questions for themselves. In a cartoon: "Illinois, You Tell 'Em!" published on election day, the clenched hand of the "Illinois Voter" with a ballot marked "No!" is shown smashing up through a table at which "Internationalist," "Ed Bok," and various foreigners were about to respond to a toast to American entry into the World Court offered

by "World Court Senator." In another cartoon on the final morning, North, South, East and West are shown interested in the outcome of this election.

2. *Appeals to national pride.*—Much emphasis was laid on the superior position of the United States, both materially and morally, over other nations. Hence "we have nothing to gain and everything to lose by going into Europe." A little more of Mussolini's spirit of "Italy First" would be useful here, since we have important problems of our own, such as securing a living wage for labor and a living price for the farmer's products. On the other hand it was indignantly denied that our policy of avoiding entanglements was selfish. We won the war for Europe, and since then have given Europe and the Near East in relief enough to pay the war debt. Our war of independence started the fires of liberty which have freed oppressed peoples all over the world.

3. *Appeals to traditional patriotism and the "fathers."*—Borah's and Reed's eulogies of "the greatest protagonist of liberty, the immortal George Washington" are cited with great approval. The pronouncements of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln opposing foreign entanglements are quoted, with portraits of these statesmen, and the pro-Court senator is represented as departing from the policy of twenty-five presidents—a sudden desertion of a policy so firmly established that it has become the bulwark of our national character that has kept us safe from foreign intrigue. The senate's action in approving the Court is like the compromise of the Tories with George III and the Missouri Compromise over slavery, but like these will eventually be settled right. To assert our independence of Europe at this time would be a fitting celebration of the Declaration of Independence. "Which shall it be?" the question is put, "the Bunker Hill Americanism of the Declaration or the bunk Americanism of the World Court?" The "spirit of '76" is revealed, in one cartoon, as the reality within the "ghost of the World Court issue" which the "World Court senator" thought was dead. Finally, appeal is made to the Monroe doctrine in the statement: "If we don't stay out of Europe, *they* won't stay out of America."

4. *Appeals to fear and suspicion of foreigners and foreign countries.*—This type of appeal, the converse of the appeal to national pride and patriotism, was employed in two ways, first through statements calculated to stimulate distrust of Europe, and, secondly, by making the Court appear to be strictly a European affair. Europe's ideals are described as warlike. "Europe damned itself into war," and it is not selfish to object to connections that "will damn us too the next time Europe goes crazy." Interferences in the "distractions and dangers of Europe" are characterized as "quixotic and fruitless quests." There is "only woe for the United States in Europe," and the World Court is a bridge over which "busted nations," "Europe's quarrels," and "crooked diplomacy" are coming into this country. The European powers "steal our shirt" every time we sit with them. They fooled the old Presbyterian, Wilson, at Versailles, where everyone else got something, leaving us only hatred and the clamor that we cancel the debts due us. We threw away an invincible navy and the right to defend our Pacific possessions at the Washington conference. The European nations hate us for our strength, our wealth, our prosperity, and because they owe us money. England shows we cannot trust her by the way she exploits us through rubber.

The terms "internationalism" and "internationalist" acquire a new and opprobrious connotation in these editorials. Internationalists are those who urge us to "go into the European mess" and are often referred to as the tools of the international bankers, or as "Bok and his squadron of paid propagandists." "Americanism" and "Internationalism" are cited as opposites.

Next, the Court is shown to be exclusively European. Senator Reed is quoted to the effect that it is "absolutely within foreign control to be used for exclusively foreign interests and purposes." It is an "old world trap" which came from Europe and doesn't belong here.

5. *Appeals to fear of war.*—This appeal was directed both to those who opposed the participation of the United States in the world-war and to those who disliked war in general, particularly the women. One of Senator Borah's texts, that the court is a "war

court, not a peace court," was given considerable development. American ideals are peaceful, those of Europe warlike. Attempting to stop Europe's wars is a gamble, in which we would be sure to lose. An effort was made to show "how McKinley's World Court can get us into war." This proceeded upon the supposition that the Court had rendered a decision favorable to England in a dispute with Russia over oil lands. Russia refusing to accept the decision, the League calls on members of the Court to furnish troops to coerce her. American troops are shown marching on Russia under the flag of the League of Nations. A direct appeal was made to women. "World Courtiers admit the league court system is a corrupt and dangerous war breeder now, but they say it will become good and peaceful when we join." Women, however, know that reforming a drunkard by marrying him never works. The assumption that we would be called upon to furnish troops was evidently regarded as an effective appeal, because it was several times repeated.

6. *Appeals to prejudice against the League of Nations.*—These included, first, oppressions designed to capitalize and enhance the existing prejudice against the League, and second, assertions that the Court was a part of the League. The League covenant, for example, was referred to as having been rejected by the United States as "an abominable plot to enslave mankind." The dissensions accompanying the attempted admission of Germany called forth the expression: "the birds of peace turned to snarling, snapping wildcats." The League, when personified in cartoons, assumed an obnoxious character. Once it was portrayed as a thug, carrying a blackjack, on another occasion as a huge uniformed figure with a brutal face.

Prejudice against the League being assumed, the Court was pictured as a part of it. To make this obvious even to moron comprehension, one cartoon depicted the Court sitting inside a wall labeled "League of Nations." Other forms of the argument were more disingenuous. For example, it was said that twice, by seven million majority, the people had voted against entanglements—implying that the court was the same as the League or as much of an entanglement, or else that the votes of 1920 and 1924

were against the Court as well as the League. Again, the senators who fought ratification of the League covenant are classified in the same category as those who opposed the World Court. "All honor to Senator McCormick, one of the 'little group of brave senators' who opposed the League; less honor to Deneen and McKinley, who voted for the Court." Direct evidence to connect the League and the Court was also presented. The assembly (*sic!*) elects the judges; the League pays them. The covenant of the League is the law of the Court and "displaces the whole code of principles that used to be called international law" (*sic!!*).

7. *Appeals to distrust in the Court itself.*—By direct assaults, and by implication and insinuation, the Court's impartiality and integrity were attacked. Artful use of cartoons conveyed the impression that the judges were biased and insincere. They were represented as tools of the League, awaiting their election with sly, smug smiles on their faces, and lined up before the League's pay window. The Court is depicted as a burglar, wearing the Union Jack, robbing the home of Uncle Sam, with the connivance of "World Court senators." In another cartoon the judges are shown with delighted grins presenting England with a decision, and cancelling, at France's request, her debts to the United States. The Court was said to be not a court at all, but a means for enforcing the wicked Treaty of Versailles. It is the "kept mistress of the great European powers," not really a World Court, but "the world's worst court." It restrains the small nations, but gives the big ones a monopoly of war, as in the Mosul oil case. Moreover, it does not prevent war; France was not kept from invading the Ruhr. Mussolini browbeat it in the Corfu case. The Court, from the point of view of the United States, is unfairly constituted. Great Britain has seven votes to one for the United States in the League which elects the judges. In the Court itself there are ten foreign judges to one for the United States. These foreign nations hate us, and their judges could not judge us fairly. It will be conceded that these assertions, if accepted, would completely destroy all faith in the Court as an adjudicating agency or as an instrument for peace.

8. *Appeals to economic self interest.*—Europe expects the Court to cancel her debts to us, leaving the burden on the American taxpayer. Under the League covenant, economic blockades can be imposed which will prevent us exporting to certain countries. This will throw men out of work. No reservations to the Court resolution will prevent it from passing decisions to lower our tariffs so foreign goods can come into this country, or to lower our immigration restrictions, so they can come over and get our jobs. Both farm and factory will be injured by the Court.

9. *Appeals to belief in popular rule.*—This was an appeal to the people over the heads of the senate which had ratified the Court resolution. The suggestion was that the people had already made up their minds against the Court before the senate voted, and that the latter had defied an overwhelming public opinion. Reactionary senators were responsible for "gag rule," but they cannot gag the press or public forum, and the primary gives the people a chance to express their views.

10. *Appeals for the defeat of Senator McKinley.*—The avowed object of all this propaganda was to defeat Senator McKinley. Scarcely an editorial failed to conclude with an adjuration to vote for Smith, who promises to vote us out of the Court, and against McKinley, who voted to put us in. In the cartoons, the "World Court senator" usually resembled McKinley, who is made to appear rather small and weak. He was quoted as having said that the Court was "just a step in the right direction" and that joining the League "wouldn't do us any harm." Thus McKinley was linked up with hostility to the League. His chief defenses were assailed. "Neither the platform nor Coolidge's coat skirts can protect him." Borah was quoted to the effect that the man who voted for something he didn't believe in just because it was in the platform was the "slimiest party slave who ever wriggled his way through the United States senate." "I'm a good rubber stamp," or "Coolidge told me to," are no defense. The issue must be met on its merits, that is, on the basis of the appeals carefully developed in this long continued newspaper campaign.

Even this careful review scarcely does justice to the deadly effectiveness with which truth, half-truth, and downright falsehood were combined with pictorial and verbal appeal to class and group prejudices, irrational fears and hatreds to produce a distorted and utterly misleading picture of our international situation, which could only have been exposed by an equally thorough popularization of the opposing view, which no agency was in a position to undertake. The *Chicago Tribune*, moreover, though adopting a more dignified tone, also manifested a hostility to the World Court that no doubt reinforced the effect of Hearst propaganda. The cartoons of McCutcheon and Orr, together with occasional editorials, presented arguments similar to the ones above outlined. The decision of the *Tribune* to support Mr. McKinley, announced on April 11, resulted in a milder attitude being displayed. The reservations were said to make the Court practically harmless, and the behavior of McKinley and Smith in the future toward submitting questions to the Court would probably not be different. Hence the Court should not be regarded as a determining issue in the senatorial race. These views were avowed too late to have much effect on popular sentiment.

4. The logic of the foregoing situation would seem to have made it inevitable that Smith would have been supported from the beginning by the entire Home-Rule group. While the Smith-McKinley campaign developed other issues, Mr. Smith discovered the effectiveness of the anti-Court argument at an early date. In a post-

election statement given to the *Herald and Examiner*, he declared that this was his chief issue and the major reason for his success. Not only did he continue to wage war on the Court through the entire campaign, particularly in Cook County, but he did so in terms indistinguishable from those used by Thompson, Crowe, Savage, and other campaign speakers of the Home-Rulers. His managers took advantage of the Borah celebration by passing out Smith literature at the door of the Coliseum, and his speeches on his down-state tours were nothing more than an antiphony to the anti-World Court chorus chanted in Cook County by the Crowe-Brundage-Barrett-Thompson harmony quartet. It might fairly have been expected that this group would have supported Smith, yet save for Thompson, who was hardly a regular member, this was not the case. Again, since both Deneen and McKinley had supported the Court resolution, should they not have stood together in the Cook County fight? For the greater part of the campaign Deneen remained neutral between Smith and McKinley. The explanation of this paradox, since it throws much light upon the motivation of factional alignments, is worth examining. Let us consider the attitude of the different factional groups in turn, assuming tentatively that they were actuated by such motives as:

(a) Adherence to principle. (b) Personal liking or dislike. (c) Past political commitments—patronage or other favors received. (d) Expectation of future favors or future co-operation. (e) Preservation of faction's reputation for consistency. (f) Expectation of material

aid—sinews of war. (g) Attitude of factional workers.
(h) Attitude of the faction's constituency of voters.

a) With the exception of the first and the two last, the foregoing motives all pointed to an alliance between McKinley and the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage group as quite logical. McKinley, whose chief strength was down state, had relied upon these leaders for his support in Cook County. His campaign for renomination had been opened in a meeting of the Sixth Ward Republican Club, the organization of Bailiff Bernard W. Snow of the Municipal Court. The latter, together with other leading lights of the Crowe-Barrett organization, took no exception at this time to McKinley's advocacy of internationalism, but loudly applauded his praise of the Locarno pact. McKinley had in the past worked in harmony with Mr. Brundage and the latter's close ally, Senator McCormick. As "Observer" put the matter in the *Herald and Examiner*:

They allowed that they had been treated pretty well by McKinley, that they had had fairly good picking at the federal patronage table, that Brother Grossman had pulled down a pardon from the White House, that McKinley's law enforcement employees had not unreasonably molested the water-carriers, and that on the whole, McKinley was safe and sane. They knew where they stood with the Presbyterian minister's son.

McKinley, moreover, was well able to finance the local campaign, a far from insignificant matter in a close fight. Finally, because of past favors, many of the local ward-leaders were committed personally to McKinley's cause.

Again, when the World Court issue was adopted for

local use, it was not done with any intention of hurting McKinley or because there had been a real change of principle on the part of the leaders. They knew nothing about the World Court and cared less. To them it was simply good patriotic "hokum" which gave Thompson something to shout about. If, therefore, the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage leaders continued to support McKinley while assailing the Court, we can scarcely accuse them of inconsistency. To say that a man, or a group, is inconsistent on a principle, when he is not acting on principle at all, is hardly the correct indictment. The real charge is a more serious one. The real danger to McKinley lay in the fact that a new element had been introduced which might require his allies to sacrifice him from the necessities of campaign expediency. As we shall see, this is precisely what occurred.

b) Thompson's case is quite different. He had no affiliations with McKinley, and had been bitterly hostile to McCormick, Brundage's ally, to the *Tribune*, the McCormick organ, and, of course, to Crowe and Barrett as well. On the other hand he had many friendly associations with Smith. The latter had supported Thompson in his senatorial primary race in 1918; after the 1924 election, the two, with Governor Small and Attorney-General Carlstrom, had been hailed as the "Four Horsemen of the Republican Party." Thompson had no federal patronage to lose; he might easily gain in this field by helping Smith to win. He was wealthy enough to be independent of McKinley's money, and his following, being personal, could easily be shifted. Eager to rehabilitate his fallen fortunes, he would hesitate at noth-

ing to regain a foothold through electing his friend Harding to the county treasurership and pave the way for his re-election to the mayoralty or perhaps to the senate in 1930. The World Court as an "issue" admirably suited Thompson. Unable to sustain close scrutiny of his record or his capacity, he welcomed a "patriotic" issue, which, whether or not it could be called the "last refuge of a scoundrel," at least readily lent itself to smoke screens, circus tricks, stage management, and treacly slogans. Having chosen his course, Thompson adhered to it with great tenacity. His allies, not he, were embarrassed by it. The course of events brought him a personal triumph.

c) Senator Deneen's position was also conditioned by past commitments. McKinley had been with McCormick against Deneen in the 1924 senatorial primary, while Smith had supported Deneen. On the other hand, personal differences between Roy O. West, secretary of the Republican National Committee and Deneen's chief lieutenant, and Frank Smith made indorsement of the latter wellnigh impossible. True, if McKinley were defeated on the World Court issue, it might embarrass Deneen, who was tarred with the same stick, but the latter had over four years yet to serve, and might well count on the matter being forgotten before that period had elapsed. Again, if McKinley were defeated, Deneen would become senior senator with the lion's share of the patronage. As long as the resources of the former were pledged to the Crowe-Barrett faction it would be folly for Deneen to indorse him. An early move in that direction would be interpreted as a mark of weakness. Appar-

ent sacrifice of principle could be avoided by pointing out that the World Court was of no consequence as a local issue. Neutrality between the contestants, with the possibility of indorsement of McKinley later in return for a valuable *quid pro quo*, was clearly the expedient policy.

d) It was reported that Fred Lundin was not favorable at this time to Smith's candidacy, although the latter was closely associated with the Small régime.³ Hence nominally McKinley could count on the support of the state machine. Lundin was of the opinion that the World Court issue was a mere sham battle. While the Small forces were divided, the governor wishing to retain friends in both camps, the tendency was for Lundin, Deneen, and McKinley to draw together. This tended to injure McKinley with the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage leaders, though Thompson took the other tack and assailed McKinley as being opposed to hard roads and waterways and as having supported Essington against Small in the 1924 primary.

The reasons for the original alignments having been made clear, it is not difficult to account for the apparent reversal which took place later. The rising tide of anti-Court propaganda put McKinley more and more on the defensive. Crowe-Barrett ward leaders, feeling the pulse of their constituencies, sorrowfully admitted that "if they wanted to stay in politics . . . they'd have to get on the Smith band-wagon for this trip at least." Thompson continued to proselyte vigorously for Smith, and

³ Though in the testimony before the Reed committee it was declared that Small favored Smith.

when his plan of campaign was finally acquiesced in by the other leaders, McKinley's doom was sealed. The dropping away from McKinley was so pronounced that on March 25 Crowe-Barrett headquarters announced that ward leaders would be left free to mark their sample ballots for either senatorial candidate. This meant, in effect, that only those who were personally bound to McKinley would support him, the rest going to Smith.

This development opened the way for a Deneen-McKinley union. Returning to Chicago from Washington on March 31, Deneen issued a formal indorsement of McKinley's World Court stand, and his lieutenants were reported to have agreed to mark their sample ballots for the latter in all but one of the fifty wards. With McKinley workers, and, presumably, McKinley funds on the Deneen side, violent readjustments took place in the Crowe camp. In a speech for Crowe-Barrett ex-service candidates the next day, Attorney-General Carlstrom incidentally attacked McKinley bitterly, while Crowe, on the platform, led the applause. "McKinley or us" was the order in the Crowe camp. A few Crowe-Barrett leaders, such as County Chairman Galpin, Bailiff Snow, Assessor Ringer, together with Edward J. Brundage and part of his following, remained faithful to McKinley, but on the whole the Smith and Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson campaigns were now, on the eve of the primary, amalgamated. The Deneen-McKinley union did not appear to be so close, perhaps because McKinley tactics did not call for massmeetings and no opportunity was offered for the joint appearance of the two senators. Besides, the Deneen campaign itself

was less vigorous. Moreover the union between them had been expected so long that it did not come as a surprise. The rank and file of the Deneen organization were not particularly enthusiastic for McKinley, regarding him as a loser, and being themselves more than half-persuaded by anti-Court propaganda. There is no evidence, however, that McKinley was sacrificed. Both he and the Deneen county ticket went down together in the general landslide.

We have now examined the form and substance of the "World Court issue," the major appeal upon which the campaigns of Frank L. Smith and the Home-Rule faction were based. It remains to form an estimate of its effectiveness. We cannot dispose of it by calling attention to its essential irrationality, the misrepresentations and downright misstatements involved in it, or its real inapplicability to either contest. In the first place we have to deal with an electorate largely uninterested, much of it unintelligent, and all save a microscopic portion uninformed as to the real merits of the case. Lacking standards of judgment, such a group is apt to believe what is most frequently reiterated and to prefer simple statements to complicated analyses. A simple lie has an immense advantage over a complicated truth in mass persuasion. Hostility is more easily aroused than favor—the task of "antis" is always easier than that of "pros." Again, the appeal here was to fundamental loyalties, valuable social elements, of course, but which, like pent up steam, may cause destructive explosions as well as provide necessary motive power. The appeal was shrewdly conceived for this locality in particular, since

inland regions are prone to parochialism and suspicion of "foreign entanglements." Even assuming that the anti-Courters were totally wrong in their attack on the action of the senate and that sinister local moves were shrouded behind this cloud of words, how could the truth be brought home to the voters? It is easy to reply: Meet the issue on its merits; boldly defend the Court; attack vigorously the misstatements of its opponents; educate the public as to the truth about the Court.

Such a courageous policy would no doubt have greatly clarified the issues of the campaign, but to the author of such a suggestion may be put the query of the mice in the fable: "Who will bell the cat?" As we have seen, there was little inducement for the Deneen faction to undertake the task. Not only were the rank and file inclined to be anti-Court, but they doubted Deneen's enthusiasm for it. In the words of one of the workers: "We know that Senator Deneen isn't really for this World's Court. He has always been for Illinois first." Until there was clear advantage in declaring for McKinley, it was clearly preferable to side-step the Court question. When Deneen finally came out for McKinley he reviewed the Court question in a straightforward, reasonable, and truthful manner, though not attempting a profound analysis. Unfortunately the speeches in which this defense of the Court was presented came too late in the campaign and reached too few people to be effective. They were inadequately reported by the newspapers, who thought them chiefly significant as indorsements of McKinley.

Failing a vigorous defense of the Court by the De-

neen faction, what may be said of the newspaper attitude? We have noted the significant part taken by the *Tribune* and the Hearst papers in creating the sentiment which defeated McKinley. Why was not a strong counter-attack forthcoming from the pro-Court papers? The *Chicago Journal*, a Democratic organ, while reporting the campaign excellently, took a neutral stand in the Republican battle. The *Evening Post*, highly respected and substantial, was vigorously pro-Court and pro-McKinley, but its influence was more restricted than that of the anti-Court organs. The very influential *Daily News* was also for McKinley and sympathetic to his Court stand. While it sternly rebuked those who made use of the Court question to conceal questionable purposes and unfit candidates, it believed that McKinley's cause would be best advanced by treating the Court as a dead issue. Hence if direct defense of the Court were to be undertaken by anyone, it was on McKinley himself upon whom the burden necessarily fell.

McKinley began the campaign with a rather vigorous defense of his Court vote. The validity of the issue was denied, and a campaign based on the Court characterized as without honest merit. Quoting the platform and the views of Hughes and Coolidge, he asserted that passage of the Court resolution was a duty; the senate had been right not to shrink from it. The "gag rule" argument was fallacious; ample debate had taken place. American interests were fully safeguarded by the reservations, and something was accomplished against war and for peace. Though refusing to debate the question with Smith, he assailed the latter's position sharply.

Smith's original platform had favored the Court with reservations, but now he refused to state his reservations. Further, Smith actually voted for the Court plank at the Cleveland convention, while his manager, Allen Moore, voted for the resolution in which the House, 11-1, asked for adherence to the Court.⁴ As the anti-Court movement gained momentum, McKinley's position weakened, and his replies simmered down to a single point, which may be described as the argument from party regularity.

The opposition employed many effective counters to this defense. McKinley was ridiculed as "hiding behind Coolidge"—this "Me 'n' Coolidge" fling being particularly effective, as ridicule often is. No one took the "platform" argument seriously, and Borah pointed out the platform was violated in the Italian debt settlement. Moreover, McKinley was at no time a heroic figure, and in this apologetic mood naturally failed to inspire enthusiasm. Hence after McKinley had done his best, the local anti-Court factionists were left in command of the situation, their battle flags flying, their armor easily repelling the belated pro-Court bombardment of Senator Deneen. Smith, too, was able to repel the charge of irregularity without great difficulty. McKinley had once called him "the best Republican in Illinois," a phrase repeated with great effect. Smith's long service in the party organization, for which he had been three times state chairman, was held to be a sufficient guaranty that

⁴ Smith frequently denied that he had so voted, bringing this into the class of *tu quoque* arguments. Moore's vote, however, was on record. See *Journal, News*, January 20; *Journal*, January 23; *Tribune*, January 24.

he would, in the long run, be loyal to the principles of Republicanism and to a Republican administration.

We must conclude, therefore, that the replies offered to the World Court argument were inadequate, as far as they attempted to meet the issue directly. Since no real replies were attempted at all by the anti-Crowe-Thompson local leaders, the adequacy of their defense depends upon the validity and efficacy of the other issues offered as substitutes. These will be considered in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER IV

THE "BI-PARTISANSHIP" ISSUE

The chief campaign issue of the Deneen group was their plea for "Home Rule in the Republican Party," based upon charges of "bi-partisanship" against their factional opponents. Regarding direct defense of the World Court as tactically unwise, a flank attack upon the opposition was devised. Thus "home rule in city, county, state and nation" was met with "home rule in the Republican party," and opposition to the World Court with opposition to "bi-partisanship"—as sometimes put, "entangling alliances with Democrats" as a counter to "entangling alliances with Europe." This was essentially an effort to confine the issues of the campaign to local matters, to divert attention away from the shrewdly conceived "patriotic" platform of the Crowe-Barrett group.

The substance of the argument was as follows. The Crowe-Barrett faction was declared to be not genuinely Republican, but to have acted in the past and to be pledged to act in the future in accordance with agreements with the Brennan Democratic organization pledging mutual co-operation in obtaining control of public offices and in dividing the spoils resulting from such control. The charge was not made in generalities, but names, dates, and occasions were freely quoted. The Sanitary District, County Commission, and South Park

Board were cited as the chief strongholds of bi-partisan control, but other specific accusations were made.

Concerning the Sanitary District the following facts were related. This extremely important local governing agency is managed by nine trustees, three elected by the voters of the district each two years for six-year terms. In 1922, three Democratic trustees were elected, Timothy J. Crowe, James M. Whalen, and Michael Rosenberg, all affiliated with George Brennan's Democratic organization. These effected a combination with Morris Eller and Lawrence F. King, Crowe-Barrett Republicans, elected in 1920, to control the district, although there were a majority of Republicans on the board. This arrangement was continued after the election of 1924, when August W. Miller and John K. Lawler, also affiliated with Crowe-Barrett, were elected. Thus the Democrats, although defeated by the voters, and in a minority on the board, shared in the patronage as well as in determining the policies of the Sanitary District.

A similar situation existed in the South Park District. Here the five commissioners are elected by the judges of the Circuit Court of Cook County. Though twelve of these judges are Republicans, four of them, with Crowe-Barrett affiliations—Kickham Scanlan, William V. Brothers, David M. Brothers, and Mary Bartelme—voted with the Democrats to elect Michael Igoe, a Democrat and close associate of Mr. Brennan, and Louis J. Behan, law partner of Homer Galpin, chairman of the Crowe-Barrett county committee. These two, with Edward J. Kelly, an organization Democrat, and chief engineer of the Sanitary District, organized and

controlled the park board, and disposed of its vast resources.

Eight of the fifteen county commissioners of Cook County were Republicans. Three of these, Tom Murray, Charles S. Peterson, and Frank J. Kriz, joined with the Democratic minority to control the board, thus sharing in the patronage and other incidents of the management of the public institutions of the county and of the county Forest Preserve District. On the death of Tom Murray, the combination joined in electing John A. Pelka, Crowe-Barrett Republican, in his place. A similar combination was also said to exist in the board of Jury Commissioners.

This state of affairs was sharply challenged by Senator Deneen and his followers. Government, the senator declared in his campaign speeches, depends upon parties, and the American form of government is peculiarly dependent upon the maintenance of the two-party system. Party loyalty and party responsibility are indispensable to efficient and honest government, and the betrayal of the party by men who seek nomination as Republicans, then become "assistant Democrats" after election, inevitably leads to the utter breakdown of responsible government. More than that, he added, in a final pre-election statement, such bi-partisanship cannot escape becoming disloyalty to the national party, and is identical with insurgency.

Some pointed illustrations were offered of the operation of bi-partisanship in practice. The primary law requires that names appear on the official ballot in the order in which they are filed with the county clerk. For-

merly the practice arose for candidates to post men with their filing petitions before the door of the county clerk's office days before the time fixed by law for the first filings. The scandal and inconvenience of this practice resulted in a ruling being made by the county clerk that petitions delivered in person would be received only after all those sent by mail had been filed. The county filings in this primary took place on February 12. After the official lists were announced, it appeared that in every case the first place on the ticket was given to the Crowe-Barrett candidates, on the Republican ballot, while similarly the Brennan slate was allotted first place on the Democratic ballot. The Deneen candidates appeared in extremely unfavorable places, being sandwiched between the names of insignificant candidates, and, in several cases, separated from each other where there were several offices of the same kind to be filled. The O'Connell slate was similarly treated. It would require considerable credulity to accept as reasonable the supposition that by random selection from the mass of mail which reached Mr. Sweitzer's office the petitions of the fifteen Crowe-Barrett candidates for county commissioner, for example, should have been found and filed before any of the Deneen petitions for the same offices were reached. Still more ridiculous appears the assumption that the entire Crowe and Brennan lists could have miraculously risen to the top of the heap. Deneen candidates, together with the Better Government Association, which had previously warned Mr. Sweitzer against malpractice in handling the petitions and demanded, unavailingly, the right to send an observer to watch the

filings, made vigorous protests and charges of favoritism. Mr. Sweitzer with equal vigor denied the charges, asserting that the explanation was perfectly natural. The Deneen petitions, he said, had arrived in a bundle. Other mail was piled on top. The result was that they were reached last. This did not prevent the persistence of the view that "nature" had been unduly aided on this occasion. An enterprising reporter ventured the theory that the Crowe and Brennan petitions had been tied with a peculiar string that enabled the clerk in charge of the work to recognize the right ones to pick up first from the heap. By this convenient form of legerdemain, the anti-Deneen candidates were assured first places on the ballot, an advantage estimated to be worth 20,000 votes.

A second illustration of the operations of bi-partisanship was the so-called Brennan-Crowe plan to obtain control of the office of county judge. The sitting judge, Edmund K. Jarecki, was elected on the Democratic ticket in 1922. It was generally understood, however, that, during his term, he had earned the disfavor of "Boss" Brennan, because of his independence in a number of matters. Brennan would have preferred to slate a "hand-picked" Democratic lawyer for the place, but did not dare to alienate the strong Polish element, which looked to Judge Jarecki as one of its few representatives in office. He was compelled, therefore, to accept Jarecki as the official Democratic nominee.¹

The Barrett-Crowe interest in a deal with Brennan on the county judgeship is obvious. Quite apart from the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the county judge, he

¹ *News*, January 30.

has peculiar significance politically through his power to appoint the Board of Election Commissioners, which regulates the election machinery and appoints the election judges and clerks in Chicago, Chicago Heights, Cicero, and Summit. Control of the election machinery was estimated, at various times during the campaign, to be worth 25,000 votes.² Under the Jarecki-Czarnecki régime, the Barrett-Crowe faction was unrepresented on the commission, and hence was allowed to appoint, according to its account, but 4 per cent of the Republican judges and clerks at this particular primary.

The arrangement concerning Mr. Savage had many interesting features. According to charges featured by Judge Trude, Mr. Savage's opponent for the nomination, and confirmed by statements secured by enterprising reporters from Mr. Brennan and "Barney" Grogan himself, Mr. Savage was originally a Democrat precinct captain in the old Eighteenth Ward (now the Twenty-seventh), appointed at the recommendation of Mr. Grogan, then the "boss" of the ward. Judge Trude pointed out that while Mr. Savage was captain, all of the election officials in his precinct were indicted for vote frauds, and he himself narrowly escaped indictment. This was in 1920. The cases were struck off with leave to reinstate because of a controversy between Judge Robert E. Crowe and State's Attorney Hoyne, both of whom were candidates for nomination, in their respective parties, for state's attorney. As a Democrat, Mr. Savage was employed in the county recorder's office under Joseph Connery, in the office of the election commissioners, and

² *Tribune*, March 12.

the county clerk's office. This was between 1915 and 1917. During the war Savage served commendably as a soldier. Returning he became an insurance solicitor in the office of George Brennan, Democratic boss, and apparently still retained desk and phone at this location at the time of the primary—the telephone directory serving as mute witness of this fact. Now comes the strange reversal. Having become acquainted with Marshall Field III during the war, he was asked by the latter to join in the preconvention canvass for Leonard Wood which Mr. Field was aiding, and in which, no doubt, Mr. Savage's political experience was considered valuable. He asked Mr. Brennan's advice concerning this step, and the latter thought it a good chance for Savage to "get on the band wagon." Henceforth Mr. Savage figures as a Republican. Completing his law education, he applied for a post in the city prosecutor's office under the Thompson-Lundin administration. In 1922, after only eight months of general practice, he was made assistant state's attorney under Mr. Crowe. Since that time, with the favor of his superior, he rose rapidly, finally becoming second assistant, with the salary of \$10,800.

His selection as candidate for county judge was, apparently, decided upon at an early date. Senator Deneen asserted that the insistence of Mr. Crowe upon the acceptance of Savage as candidate for this office was one of the principal reasons for the breakdown of the "harmony negotiations" in December, 1925. The reason for his selection as candidate may be readily surmised. From the Crowe point of view, the control of the election machinery in the hands of this trusted partisan and "prac-

tical" politician would be a gift from the gods. It was freely said, also, that if Brennan could be sure of the nomination of his friend and former employee, he would be utterly indifferent to the fate of Jarecki.³

To the opposition, however, this was another and an extremely flagrant example of the bi-partisan alliances of the Crowe-Barrett group. It seemed an open, blatant betrayal of the Republican party to the Democratic boss, a proposal full of threats to the sanctity of the ballot and the decency of elections.

Linked with the charges concerning Savage was a broader accusation that the Crowe-Barrett group were not promoting an honest campaign for the nomination of a Republican ticket, but that agreements had already been made with the Brennan Democrats to sacrifice certain Republican nominees at the general election in November, in return for the election of certain Crowe-Barrett candidates. This wholesale "trade" was alleged to involve the following offices. The Democrats scheduled to receive Crowe-Barrett support were "Pat" Carr, for sheriff, Judge Horner, for probate judge, Sweitzer, for county clerk, and Anton J. Cermak, president of the County Board. In return, the Brennan Democrats were to support Charles V. Barrett for member of the Board of Review, Joseph P. Savage for county judge, Wolf, Oliver, and Haffa for assessors, and King, Eller, and Graydon for trustees of the Sanitary District. These trades were well understood, and it was the view of all politicians encountered during the campaign that they could be carried out, at least in the main.

³ "Observer," *Herald and Examiner*, February 7.

Interesting confirmation was offered for the theory of "trades" by the fact that for the offices alleged to be promised to the Democrats, the Crowe-Barrett organization did not offer, on its slate, candidates in whom it was really interested. Many of them were Brundage selections, as, for instance, Boutell, for president of the County Board, Millner for county clerk, and Hough, for probate judge. The candidate for sheriff, Arnold, was a Lundin man, labor commissioner, by appointment of Governor Small. Furthermore, for offices alleged to be assigned to Crowe and Barrett, the Brennan slate bore weak candidates. For the Board of Review, a strong candidate, John E. Traeger, an excellent vote-getter, had been suggested. He was rejected in favor of Harry Kohl, boiler inspector in the City Hall organization—an excellent fellow, but hardly likely to give Mr. Barrett a serious amount of opposition. "Poor Kohl," said the newspapers!

From the point of view of the Deneen opposition, the most serious aspect of this "bi-partisan trade" was that, owing to the legal situation which made this a "free-for-all" primary,⁴ Democratic aid was counted on for the Crowe-Barrett candidates in the Republican primary. Fifty thousand votes one way or the other would undoubtedly turn the tide, and if to the 20,000 counted on as a result of the filings were added as many more votes from the Democratic side, Deneen success became extremely problematical.

Concluding this series of charges, the Deneen group

⁴ Two years had elapsed since the last primary, hence voters could freely select the party primary in which they wished to take part.

urged that "bi-partisanship" was the fountain head of graft, mismanagement, and corruption in the governing agencies of the county. The South Park Board, as controlled by the "bi-partisans," had become, so it was said, honeycombed with graft. For many years prior to the accession of the "combination" to power, the South Parks system had a reserve of unexpended bond issues. Now the reserve was gone, and the tax levy, rising from 49 cents in 1922 to 69 cents in 1924, showed signs of going still higher.⁵ This was explained as due to political manipulation of the vast expenditures of the board—\$15,000,000 in 1924—and to political padding of the pay-roll.⁶

The Sanitary District, however, was the chief target of attack. Alderman Albert, Deneen candidate for Sanitary District trustee, stressed this issue in his campaign speeches in the wards and in the Loop meetings at the end of the campaign. His charges were made specific by quotations from his "black book," composed of photo-static copies of Sanitary District records. He was in the habit of saying that "Crowe would indict him if he made a false statement," but "I dare Bobbie to indict me" because every charge was based directly on the records. Some of the high lights of this indictment follow.

1. The budget of the district increased from approximately \$19,000,000 the year previous to the accession of the present regime, to \$42,000,000 for 1926. About \$38,000,000 was spent in 1924.

⁵ Stone's article, *News*, March 30.

⁶ Alderman Albert spoke of an increase from 400 to 1,800 under the bi-partisan régime, and a doubling of the police force in spite of the installation of auto signal lights. *Post*, February 16.

2. The pay-roll is chiefly used to provide jobs for political workers, friends, and relatives of the trustees, and persons whose political influence is desired. The number employed increased from 1,447 in 1922 to about 3,200 at the present time.

Padding for political purposes was shown by the roster of "lake level testers" prior to the primary previous to the present one, as follows (approximately): January, 15,000; February, 54,000; March, 66,000. In May the number dropped to 23,000 and in June to 15,000.⁷

The district has more lawyers on its pay-roll than the Department of Justice. The hearings before Governor Small on the Sanitary District bonding bill showed \$200,000 spent for extra legal services including such payments as: Edward J. Brundage, \$1,000 a month; George F. Barrett (brother of Charles V. Barrett), \$37,186.20; Louis J. Behan (Galpin's law partner and South Park Commissioner), \$31,149.76.

Excessive payments to "engineering experts" were also found, a special reviewing board of engineers costing \$302,367.28 in addition to the regular engineering pay-roll.

Relatives of trustees and friends as follows: Lawrence F. King, five relatives; Michael Rosenburg, five relatives; Morris Eller, three relatives; Charles V. Barrett, a sister; Robert E. Crowe, a sister, etc.

Many members of the legislature were found to be on the pay-roll, including, particularly Senators Dailey and Barr and Representative Brown, leading opponents of "home rule" for Chicago.

3. Irregularities in the sale of land belonging to the district. One notorious case was cited of a piece of land at 3101 Western Avenue sold by the district to E. L. Cook for \$78,600. Ten days later this was appraised by the Cook County Real Estate Board at \$639,888. The buyer borrowed \$200,000 on it at a Loop bank, and later sold it for \$581,000, a profit of \$403,000.⁸

⁷ 1924 primary. Figures given in Albert's speech, Prudential Hall, March 11.

⁸ Albert's speech, North Side Turner Hall, February 25; also Stone's article, *News*, March 30.

4. Irregularities in contracts for supplies. The case of the Fleming Coal Co. was given much publicity. This Delaware corporation was organized in February, 1924. Its president, Edward J. Fleming, was secretary to Maclay Hoyne when the latter was state's attorney. Among the directors were Thomas W. Barrett, secretary and treasurer, and George F. Barrett (both brothers of Charles V. Barrett). The corporation supplied coal to the Sanitary District during 1925 and part of 1924, not on a competitive basis, but in such a way as to allow a profit of 90 cents a ton, where 10 per cent was regarded as an ample allowance. The District paid the company \$214,014 for coal in 1925. Only \$106,000 was spent for coal the year before this company was organized.

"What are they doing with the excess coal?" asked Alderman Albert. "Probably Mr. Kelly, the chief engineer of the district, who used to be an undertaker, is burying it!" Oscar Wolff, Deneen candidate for the Board of Review, declared he knew that 20 or 30 tons a day had been hauled away from the 95th Street pumping station and sold to political friends. He had informed Mr. Barrett of this. He replied, "See Morris Eller about it." No doubt Eller would have said, Mr. Wolff commented, "Home Rule," or "down with the world court!"⁹

5. Irregularities in connection with insurance. It was charged that the insurance of the district was parcelled out between a firm in which Sheriff Hoffman was interested and the United States Fidelity and Guaranty Co. for which George Brennan, Democratic boss, is local agent. Hoffman was alleged to have got \$17,000 out of this in a single year. The profit to Brennan's company for the three years 1923-4-5 was placed at \$625,750.¹⁰

The administration of the Board of Review by the Crowe-Barrett majority, Messrs. Barrett and Weber, was also bitterly attacked, particularly by Oscar Wolff,

⁹ Sources for these charges: speeches of Mr. Albert at various times and places; speech of Oscar Wolff, Englewood, April 3, *News*; March 30, *Lightnin'* (publication of the B.G.A.), Vol. 1, Nos. 3, 5; *News*, February 18.

¹⁰ See *Lightnin'*, Vol. I, No. 5; *News*, March 24.

Mr. Barrett's opponent for the nomination. Mr. Wolff asserted that the power to review assessments was used corruptly. He quoted figures to prove the assessments on Loop skyscrapers to be absurdly low, and intimated that purchasing coal from the Fleming Coal Co. was a recognized means of securing reductions of assessments. He cited the names of various individuals who had publicly indorsed Mr. Barrett for renomination and gave figures to show that their assessments had been reduced.¹¹

The cry of "corrupt bargain," "unholy alliances," and "bi-partisanship" issuing from the Deneen camp, as above outlined, was reinforced by a repetition of the charge from two other sources. The opposition faction within the Democratic ranks headed by William L. O'Connell and ex-Governor Edward F. Dunne launched the same accusations against Mr. Brennan and his cohorts that was being urged by the Deneen candidates against their Crowe-Barrett foes. In announcing the slate of his group, Mr. O'Connell issued the following statement:

. . . . These candidates express the sentiment of hundreds of thousands of Democrats in their uncompromising opposition to the methods and policies that dominate Mr. Brennan's so-called regular Democratic organization, which is betraying Democratic candidates and principles in the interest of a bi-partisan working alliance with the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson wing of the Republican party.

In carrying out this bi-partisan agreement with the Republicans, the so-called regular organization is trying to nominate a number of dummy candidates at the primary in April, whom they

¹¹ E.g., in speech at Englewood, April 3. He also charged actual "tax fixing," assisted by a case of the kind which was exposed shortly before election. See *News*, April 10.

do not intend to support at the election in November. No secret is made of the fact that the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson Republicans have been assigned a certain number of county offices and the Brennan Democrats have been allotted the remainder of the places. Under this alliance the bi-partisan combination expects this deal to go through on the assumption that the people will not be alert on primary day. . . .

The bi-partisan alliance is not satisfied with its present scope of power, but is seeking to reach out and take under its control all city, county, drainage board and other local governing activities.

As Democrats we call attention to the danger that threatens our party by this bi-partisan alliance, and warn the democracy that if permitted to continue it will destroy Democratic independence and solidarity.¹²

In a rally at the Olympic Theater April 7, Governor Dunne elaborated the charge in a carefully prepared statement.

Brennan and the Republican bosses made a bi-partisan alliance and acquired control of the Sanitary District, the South Park Commissioners and all other important offices in the state and county excepting two or three held by men too powerful to be beaten by the combine and excepting the office of County Judge.

To eliminate Judge Jarecki there was a plan to put up a papier-maché candidate on the Democratic ticket. This plan failed, so an understanding was reached that Jarecki should be renominated, but that Savage should be nominated on the Republican ticket and that the Democratic candidate would be knifed by the Democratic machine at the November election. This is the present arrangement.

It also became important that the levying bodies, to-wit, the Board of Assessors and Board of Review, should be kept under the control of the bi-partisan alliance, and that the men now holding these positions on the Board of Assessors and the Board of Review should be renominated and elected.

¹² *Herald and Examiner*, February 25.

In pursuance of this plan the Democratic boss has brought about the selection of a papier-maché candidate for the Board of Review who is boiler inspector in the City Hall and the selection of other weak and inconspicuous men on the Democratic ticket for assessors to be slaughtered at the polls, as it is proposed to slaughter Jarecki.¹⁸

Thus the opposition Democrats capped the plea of the Deneen group with their own demand for "home rule in the Democratic party"!

Perhaps the most vigorous of all the attacks on bi-partisanism came from the Better Government Association—an organization which shared in some of the most sensational moves of the campaign. Its wrath was aroused by the alleged favoritism displayed by the county clerk in the matter of assigning places on the primary ballot.

The betrayal of this office by the county clerk in giving preference unlawfully to the Crowe-Brennan candidates upon the ballot at the April primaries is but a step in a sinister bi-partisan agreement to seize the election machinery by the nomination of bi-partisan candidates for county offices . . . and fasten upon Cook county a set of election judges and clerks who will do the bidding of the conspirators. . . .

If this agreement is not promptly defeated it will become utterly useless for citizens to register or to vote, or for any candidate to attempt to run for office unless put forward by this bi-partisan combine. . . .

It is unbelievable that the citizens of this community, when made aware of the dire peril which thus threatens them, will tamely submit to having their birthright taken from them or to place their lives, their property rights and the protection of their women and children in the unchecked keeping of these conspirators.

We call ourselves red-blooded Americans. This is not Russia,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, April 8.

nor is it China, but Cook County and Chicago, the second city in America and the very heart of the U.S.A.

This sinister combine has already fastened its slimy hands upon the Drainage Board, where hundreds of politicians, including state senators, members of Legislature and aldermen have been subsidized with salaries at the public expense, for services not to the public but solely to the combine.

Certain Circuit Court judges have been tempted, by the promise of lucrative positions for their relatives and close personal friends, into turning over to the combine at a secret session the South Park Board, with its immense patronage and magnificent program of improvement. Favorites of the combine are rapidly growing rich upon the juicy pickings, while the public pays the bill.

The recent betrayal of the public by the county clerk . . . is another advance in this gigantic deal for power and spoils, in securing which the combine has amply demonstrated it will stop at nothing. . . .¹⁴

We may now consider the effectiveness of this issue as employed in the campaign, particularly as against the Crowe-Barrett candidates. In the first place it is fair to say, without attempting to verify in detail the specific accusations made, that the charges, both as to the existence of "bi-partisan agreements" and as to the resulting scandals, were, in the main, true. They were generally recognized as such by the newspapers. Crowe-Barrett trades with the Democrats were foreshadowed by the *News* in its editorial of January 23 entitled "Where Does the Public Come In," and on April 5, under the heading "Too Much Crowe," it bitterly arraigned the "bi-partisans."

There are few more pathetic spectacles than that of a great body of citizens which has allowed itself to be bluffed.

This is true even where the body of citizens surrenders to a

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, February 17.

bluffer of distinction. It is especially true when the result is achieved by a bluffer of no distinction whatever.

The republican party of Cook county has fallen under the hypnotic eye of State's Attorney Crowe. It is commanded by him to perform a variety of curious gyrations to prove that he is its master. It is commanded, for example, to accept as its party candidates men who if elected to office would divide their official power and responsibility in sundry important boards and other bodies with democratic officials who respond to the will of their party chief, George Brennan. And very specially it is commanded to accept as its own Crowe's and Brennan's candidate for County Judge, Joseph Savage, a candidate pronounced not qualified for the position by a committee of leading lawyers representing the Chicago Bar Association.

Brennan has a sense of humor, which is an excellent thing in a politician. Consequently he must be getting any number of laughs as he watches Crowe, aided by the Barretts, Brundage, Thompson, Galpin and the rest, heading the republican party of Cook county into the corral of which he and his fellow democratic workers own an undivided half interest. It means for Brennan happy days in the board of election commissioners and continued happy days in the board of sanitary trustees, the county board, the south park board and other tax-spending centers of high pressure activity. . . .

The *Tribune*, inclined to oppose Deneen, the conqueror of McCormick in 1924, gave little comfort to the factional attack on "bi-partisanism," emphasizing, instead, the turpitude of the alliances on both sides. The *Post*, without discussing the issue directly, gave its indorsement to Alderman Albert, chief exponent of the attack on the Sanitary Board, and approved of the recommendations of civic bodies, which generally lay with the Deneen candidates. The *Journal*, sympathetic with the O'Connell rather than with the Brennan brand of democracy, gave qualified approval to the blasts issued by

the Better Government Association.¹⁵ The *Herald and Examiner*, particularly in the articles by "Observer," freely discussed the projected "trades" and bi-partisan arrangements as accepted facts.

It might appear that the issue thus presented would have very damaging effects upon the fortunes of the Crowe-Barrett campaign. The charges, however, were not allowed to go by default. The Home-Rule leaders devised a number of adroit defenses which largely nullified the effect of their opponents' thunder. The charge that "trades" were being made with Brennan and his organization was not denied; it was simply suggested that there was nothing improper in such an arrangement.¹⁶ In his speech at the Shipstead meeting Thompson said, in substance:

They say that Bob Crowe has a political alliance with Brennan and the Democrats. I don't know whether he has or not, and I don't care. I remember when I was elected mayor I got more votes than there were Republicans in Chicago. Some of them must have been Democrats. There's nothing wrong in having Democrats vote for you—in fact I hope they all vote for me.

At other times he brought the World Court issue into a counter-charge of bi-partisanism against Deneen. "Deneen," he would say, "is on thin ice."

¹⁵ See editorials March 5 and 8.

¹⁶ This was a shrewd defense, as evidence showing the existence of co-operative arrangements between Crowe and Brennan was met on all sides if one penetrated only a little way behind the political scenes. It was common knowledge among newspaper men that Brennan's first visit, on returning from Hot Springs following the announcement of the O'Connell slate, was to Crowe. After the B.G.A. exposé, Crowe and Brennan issued statements containing identical arguments and even the same language. See *Post*, February 20.

There has been talk about a bi-partisan combine here. Well, that goes double, both in county and nation. I say to Senator Deneen, "Why should you, who entered into a bi-partisan combine in the United States Senate to put on the gag and pull down the flag, complain about any local combine to put the flag up?"¹⁷

Mr. Crowe made the *tu quoque* retort more specific by asserting that Deneen was the father of the "bi-partisan" alliance,

. . . Having introduced it when he gained control of the Republican party many years ago and entered into a secret alliance with Roger Sullivan, the Democratic leader at that time. For many years Deneen candidates enjoyed a monopoly of first places on the ticket without any complaint from the "holier than thou" crowd. He is now bewailing the fact that they lost this advantage in this primary.

Mr. Deneen introduced bi-partisan alliances in the sanitary district when he combined with the Democrats to exclude Paul A. Hazard from any voice in the affairs of the sanitary district because he had dared to run as a Republican without the consent of Charles S. Deneen.

He made it an established policy in the south park system by for years electing Democrats like John Barton Payne, who in turn turned over control of the south park patronage to him, under the direction of Roy O. West, who was elected attorney for the board. He has continued it in the south parks by having his judges combine with the Democratic judges last month to elect his man Bain. The Deneen commissioners, combining with the Democrats on the south park board, have just elected the present set of south park officers.

Mr. Deneen is working his bi-partisan arrangement with the Democratic county judge overtime at present.

The only difference in the combinations made by Deneen and those made by our group is that Deneen makes his alliances secretly and, when charged with them, generally denies their exist-

¹⁷ *American*, March 1.

ence as he did with the Democrats in the past and is now doing with the Small-Lundin organization, as if he were ashamed of his unholy alliances, while we make ours in the light of day, as we have with Thompson in the present instance.

Mr. Deneen, how about your joining with the Democratic senators to put the United States in the world court and haul Old Glory down?¹⁸

Since the Deneen bi-partisanship argument had been particularly focussed on the struggle for the nomination for county judge, and Mr. Savage had been charged with being a Democrat selected with the approval of Mr. Brennan, strenuous efforts were made to load the Deneen candidate with an even heavier weight of odium. Pointing out that under the existing situation a friendly Democrat, Judge Jarecki, had appointed Anthony Czarnecki, a Deneen Republican, member of the election commission, and that in consequence the dominant Republican faction had been denied its fair share of the judges and clerks of election, Mr. Crowe asserted that the nomination of Savage would end bi-partisanism rather than introduce it. A heavy attack was then levied on Judge Trude, Mr. Savage's opponent. "Who is this young man?"¹⁹ he asked in one of the noon rallies near the end of the campaign.

His dad was Democratic boss of Chicago in the days when Mike McDonald was the gambling king and vice flourished openly everywhere. His brother-in-law was a Democratic state's attorney. His uncle, George A. Trude, was a Democratic judge.

He doesn't even vote the Republican ticket. I asked him whether, four years ago, when Judge Righeimer was renominated

¹⁸ *Tribune*, April 3.

¹⁹ Trude was forty-eight, Savage thirty-one.

without opposition, he voted for him or for Jarecki. Much to my surprise—I thought he would have more sense—he admitted he voted for Jarecki. What is more, he admitted that if his opponent, Mr. Savage, is nominated this time, he will vote for Jarecki again.

He ought not to be running as a Republican. He ought to run as an independent with "Revenue" Williams, and "No-check" Davis as his campaign managers. Perhaps they could persuade George Brennan to give them another \$27,000 to help them in their campaign.²⁰

Again, the charges of the Better Government Association cited above met some damaging attacks from both Crowe and Brennan. The latter replied that bi-partisanship was not new, that he himself had engaged in it twice before. The first occasion was during Thompson's administration when the Thompson-Lundin machine refused to renominate some excellent judges. An agreement was reached whereby half the places on the Democratic ticket were given to Republicans, and this combined slate was elected—defeating the Thompson judicial candidates. The other occasion was in 1924, when Michael Igoe was the Democratic candidate for state's attorney in opposition to Robert E. Crowe. An independent candidate, Hope Thompson, was supported for this office by the Better Government Association, which thought Igoe not good enough, though better than Crowe. Accepting what appears the most credible version of the story, Attorney Thomas D. Knight, a director of the Association, suggested to George Brennan, a personal friend of his, that if Thompson could make a showing

²⁰ Selwyn Theater, April 7. He continued: "If he says that Savage is a Democrat, I reply in the language of the street urchin, 'So's your old man!'"

Igoe's chances would be improved. On this argument, Brennan agreed to make a contribution—the figure being given at from \$23,000 to \$27,000. Brennan's account of the affair follows.

A committee from the Better Government Association came to me and asked me to help an independent candidate. The argument they advanced was that every vote they would be able to get would be taken from Mr. Crowe. I agreed with them and made a substantial contribution to their cause.

Mr. Davis admits a bi-partisan alliance with me against Crowe. This proves that there was no foundation for their story given to the United States Senate and to the public generally of a bi-partisan combination between Crowe and myself. The only alliance was between me and the self-styled reformers. I freely admit this.

It now looks as if I was double-crossed. They promised to deliver 150,000 votes to Thompson, and they delivered about 50,000.²¹

The story as originally circulated named E. J. Davis, superintendent of the association, and Rev. E. L. Williams, its law-enforcement officer, as the solicitors of Brennan aid, and charged them with being willing to accept currency, but "no checks." This was denied by Mr. Knight, as stated above. Mr. Crowe, nevertheless, issued a statement branding the two as "financial and moral bankrupts" and took great delight in referring to them throughout the campaign as "No-check" Davis, and "Revenue" Williams. This revelation of financial co-operation between the so-called "reformers" and the Democratic "boss," "blew the lid" from local politics for a time. It led to a violent reaction against "reform" of all kinds, which injured other organizations more firmly

²¹ *American*, March 4.

established than the Better Government Association. It put the latter body decidedly on the defensive before its own constituency, to say nothing of the general public, and tremendously weakened the force of its charge of "bi-partisanship" as well as the charge of "criminal alliances" which was announced at the same time.²²

The attacks on the Sanitary Board were also met after a fashion. Mr. Brennan indignantly repelled Alderman Albert's charges concerning his insurance profits, saying that Albert's informants "knew no more about the bonding business than Alderman Albert does of decency in public office."²³ The assailed trustees refused to be put on the defensive, attempting rather to divert attention to the achievements of the district under their direction. A "Sanitary District Book" was issued, describing the progress of the water diversion controversy.²⁴ Advertisements appeared calling attention to the improvements completed and under way.²⁵ The campaign literature of Messrs. King and Eller stressed the following slogan: "The health and happiness of 3,000,000 people of Chicago have been maintained by the untiring efforts of Lawrence King and Morris Eller."²⁶ Senator Deneen's belated charge that "bi-partisanism"

²² See the newspapers generally under dates March 3 to March 10.

²³ *News*, March 24.

²⁴ Described in *News*, February 20.

²⁵ *Journal*, March 30. In this issue also appeared advertisements inserted by the County Board (full page), and the South Park Commission (half-page). See also *News*, April 6, *re* leaflet praising County Board.

²⁶ This motto, with an illustrative cartoon, appeared on a blotter widely distributed.

led to insurgency was repelled by Homer Galpin, who pointed out that the Crowe-Barrett group had selected the delegates who voted for the nomination of Coolidge.

Finally, the effort was made to undermine the moral platform of the Deneen advocates—to deny their right to raise the issue of party loyalty or official turpitude. “Lacking a great principle such as we advocate,” said Mr. Crowe and Mr. Barrett, “our opponents have resorted to mudslinging.” Or as Mr. Thompson put it, more vulgarly, “I ask them why they hauled down Old Glory, and they bring out a bucket of mud.” “The statements emanating from Deneen headquarters,” said Mr. Crowe, “have been based upon misrepresentation, vituperation, and whole lies.”²⁷ “Our campaign has throughout been a dignified one,” declared Mr. Barrett, warning the audience to beware of last-minute “roorbacks” from the opposition.²⁸ All this, they said, was to be expected from a leader and candidate tied up, lock, stock, and barrel, with Small and Lundin. This “plastering of the Small-Lundin label” on the Deneen group was tremendously effective, and for large bodies of citizens completely destroyed the weight of the Deneen charges which in themselves were relevant and substantially true.

The “bi-partisanship” issue, in short, failed almost completely in the purpose for which it was devised—to counteract the World Court attack of the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson faction and to serve as an affirmative basis for the Deneen campaign. As compared to the appeal to traditional patriotism, the cry of “Home Rule in

²⁷ *Tribune*, April 3.

²⁸ Olympic Theater, April 5.

the Republican party" aroused little enthusiasm. The necessity of rigid adherence to party loyalty in local politics did not appear compelling to the electorate, who saw in the conflicting charges and counter-charges merely the struggle of two factions for offices and spoils—factions, moreover, between which there was little to choose. No overwhelming newspaper propaganda supported the charges of corruption against the Sanitary District and other governing bodies. Finally, the inconsistency between urging a "moral issue" and accepting the support of Small and Lundin proved to be a fatal handicap to the Deneen pretensions.

CHAPTER V

THE "SMALL-LUNDIN" ISSUE

It was inevitable that Governor Small should become an issue in this campaign. His affiliations with the down-state group of politicians assured his being viewed as a representative of the forces opposing Chicago's demand for reapportionment and increasing home rule. His political record was such as to make opposition to him and his policies a cardinal principle among large groups in Cook County. This attitude was strengthened by the outcome of the interest suit and by well-authenticated reports that a "slush fund" of a million dollars was being collected by "contributions from holders of state offices, contractors, potential contractors, and others who have received or hope to receive favors from the Small administration."¹ The unsavory character of the results of Small's domination of the 1925 Assembly also received much attention and led the Legislative Voters' League to report:

Having this record in mind, the Legislative Voters' League is of the opinion that the most effective thing that could possibly be done at this time toward making the legislature function better would be to get rid of the present governor by any available lawful means.²

Furthermore, resentment was accumulating against the governor for his aggravation of the serious crime situation by a too liberal issuance of pardons and paroles.

¹ *News*, January 10, editorial.

² All newspapers, February 4, 5.

The association between the governor and Frederick Lundin gave the "Small issue" greater local significance than it would otherwise have had. Lundin's reputation as the most authoritative exponent of Lorimerism, his position as patronage dispenser for "Big Bill" Thompson during the latter's mayoralty, his indictment in 1922 for frauds in connection with school board funds, his acquittal, his quarrel with Thompson, his rivalry with Thompson for control of Cook County patronage under Governor Small, his success as the governor's political adviser—all these circumstances were fresh in the minds of the voters. Small's own reputation was sufficiently discreditable; associated with the "foxy Swede" he became doubly odious.

Small, however, was not unaccustomed to opposition, and though beaten in the courts for the moment, his resources were not exhausted. He had ample funds—partly wrung from state employees—and was in a position to make a strong fight to control the legislature. Success in this aim would avert impeachment, and, if necessary, *quo warranto* proceedings could be warded off by paying whatever judgment was finally assessed against him. It was even considered possible that Small might win renomination and election for a third term. As a trial flight in this direction a candidate for state treasurer was selected and indorsed. Pursuing these objectives, it was desirable to keep a foothold in Cook County politics, particularly to secure the election of friendly legislative candidates, but also to protect the interests of the governor and his ally, Lundin, and to punish the enemies of both. Success was anticipated

through the use of the governor's campaign chest, the powerful state patronage in Cook County, and, finally, the factional differences in the Republican party, which offered a fertile field for the political manipulator.

Turning from the position and objectives of the Small-Lundin forces, let us consider the attitude adopted toward the Small issue by the various Cook County factional groups. In passing let us note that opposition to Small and demand for home rule for Chicago was one of the main planks in the platform of the Brennan Democrats. The failure of the legislature to reapportion the state so as to give fair representation to Chicago, hostility of down-state Illinois toward the interests of Cook County, the veto of the Calumet harbor improvement by the state administration, and the efforts of Small to secure the election of a majority of the legislature were condemned. Local control over the settlement of the traction question, over the park boards and sanitary district was demanded, and the consolidation of all local taxing bodies was advocated. Were Small a law-abiding citizen, the platform stated, he would step out of office.³

Though perhaps more appropriately urged by the Democrats, the Home-Rule issue was given greatest currency by the Republican combination headed by Crowe, Barrett, Brundage, and Thompson. Their slogan, as we have seen, stressed Home Rule, their ticket was constantly referred to as the "Home-Rule ticket," and the

³ For text of platform see *Tribune, Herald and Examiner*, February 8. See also *Tribune*, January 16, for statement of Brennan's views on Home Rule; likewise *News*, March 30, "Small Chief Issue, Igoe's Declaration."

combined group as the "Home-Rule faction." The aim of the platform and of the tactics pursued throughout the campaign was to combine the sentiments of local pride and resentment against outside interference in city and county affairs with the similar desire for national independence and fear of foreign entanglements. The World Court aspect of the Home-Rule appeal attracted most attention and secured the most favorable response, but in order to keep this in line with local issues it was necessary to keep the other Home-Rule planks before the public. This was, at any rate, the theory of the unified Home-Rule appeal. In actual fact, three distinct developments were apparent.

In the first place, a number of points at issue between Cook County and down-state Illinois were selected as having popular appeal. These included refusal of the legislature to reapportion the state, attempts to create a state tax commission and to transfer authority over the sanitary district to the state, the parole and pardon situation, and demands for local control of the park systems. These were practically identical with the planks in the Democratic platform, and, at the time of their announcement, there was no great difference of opinion among the factions as to the validity of these issues.⁴ They were, however, made a part of the Crowe-Barrett platform, and sworn to by their county candidates.

⁴ The *News* termed home rule for cities and local governments a "vital issue," but not partisan. "In the deepest sense it is political and moral," editorial, January 16. When the issue was brought forward by Brennan and Crowe, the Deneen group declared itself sympathetic, though perhaps not ready to pledge its legislative candidates. *Tribune*, January 16 and 18.

Next, as the campaign progressed, two developments occurred. The interest case was decided against Governor Small, rendering him much more liable to attack. At the same time, the World Court discussion, though at first threatening to monopolize entirely the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson campaign, eventually allowed much emphasis to be placed on the home-rule issues proper. Finally the connection between the Deneen forces and those of Lundin and Small became more and more apparent. This offered a wonderful opportunity for transferring to the opposing local faction all of the odium attaching to Small and Lundin personally and all of the hostility inherent in the Home-Rule issues themselves. This latter development proved in the end to be extremely significant; we have already noted its effectiveness in connection with the "bi-partisanship" and "crime and corruption" issues.

The lack of uniformity in the presentation of the Home-Rule issue by the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson group was largely due to the fact that the different leaders did not themselves occupy the same position with reference to the governor and his political aid. Mr. Brundage's attitude is the easiest to explain. As the prosecutor of Small, he was the most logical exponent of the issue. He was absent in Europe while the World Court tumult was developing, but after his return, just prior to the Shipstead rally, he issued a pronouncement to the effect that Home Rule was the real issue and that the World Court had no place in the campaign.⁵ Although this resulted in only a temporary slow-

⁵ *News*, March 20.

ing down on the World Court attack, it did have the consequence that the charge of a Deneen-Lundin-Small conspiracy was carefully formulated and added to the other platform arguments.⁶ Mr. Brundage himself, in his few speeches, restricted himself to this issue,⁷ and it was strongly emphasized by the candidates owing allegiance to him.⁸

Mr. Barrett made many speeches on the World Court question, but in addition regarded himself as a peculiarly apt spokesman for the anti-Small group. As member of the Board of Review he was particularly interested in tax matters; he was able in that connection to point to his efforts to prevent the creation of a state tax commission which would have transferred final review in such matters to Springfield.⁹ His associate, Mr. Crowe, as public prosecutor, found the pardon and parole record of the governor the most appropriate subject for attack.

Mr. Thompson's position was less a matter of logic or campaign strategy than an expression of his personal antipathies. Against the governor he had no particularly strong complaint. He held at this time the chairmanship of the Illinois Waterway Commission, by virtue of Small's appointment; two brothers-in-law were members, respectively, of the Waterway Commission and the

⁶ *Tribune*, March 23.

⁷ Speech at Wilmette, *Tribune*, April 7.

⁸ Notably by Alderman Boutell, candidate for president of the County Board.

⁹ *Herald and Examiner*, April 5. He particularly emphasized his lobbying against the tax commission bill in 1921.

State Tax Commission. It is true that Mr. Thompson had failed to retain his position as patronage dispenser for the governor in Cook County, in spite of the monster petition presented to Small requesting this favor for the former mayor,¹⁰ and that, in consequence, he had been ousted from his control of the patronage of Lincoln Park.¹¹ This represented, however, the triumph of Lundin rather than the faithlessness of Small, and Thompson's resentment was directed toward the former rather than the latter. A number of pleasantries were exchanged between the ex-mayor and his former ally, probably the most notorious being Thompson's "rat" speech.¹²

While the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson lead-

¹⁰ *Herald and Examiner*, April 4: ". . . the former mayor submitted a petition more than a year ago of more than 200,000 names to Governor Small, asking the governor to remove Mr. Lundin from control of the state's patronage in Cook County."

¹¹ Cf. *Herald and Examiner*, January 1, 1926.

¹² Stimulated by publication of a number of the *Illinois Republican Council Bulletin* containing bitter attacks on him, Mr. Thompson secured some rats from the stockyards, and brought two of them, caged, to the theater where he was scheduled to share the platform with Frank L. Smith, April 5. Friends of the senatorial candidate objected to the impropriety of this move, and the ex-mayor postponed his exhibition till the following day. On April 6, he gave his "rat show" before a packed house, the only one of the campaign. One caged rat was addressed as "Fred" (for Fred Lundin), the other as "Doc" (for Dr. John Dill Robertson, Thompson's former health commissioner, and now reported to be the Small-Lundin candidate for mayor. Cf. *Journal*, January 18). To "Fred" he made the following remarks:

"Fred, let me ask you something. Wasn't I the best friend you ever had? Isn't it true that I came home from Honolulu to save you from the penitentiary? . . . I have learned, Fred, that you are going to try to flood Chicago with 500,000 copies of a newspaper called the

ers had a set of anti-Small principles and a formula of attack appropriate to each leader, these were not genuine political merchandise, but rather, like the World Court, goods to display in the show window. The objective of this group of "political conquistadors, refugees, blockade-runners and gentlemen-adventurers"¹³ was to nominate its ticket, not to purify the state of Smallism—to win the pending primary battle, not to lead a moral crusade, unless the enemy were as harmless a windmill as the World Court. Why unnecessarily alienate the governor and his camp by going beyond those stage gestures which would fool the public but do the governor no harm? It was unlikely that the governor would again be a candidate for his present high office; Deneen had stepped from the state's attorneyship to the gubernatorial chair, why not another? A mayor, too, was to be chosen in 1927. The aid of all or part of Small's forces in achieving the ambitions of Crowe-Barrett leaders would be a prize worth considerable manipulation. Again, it was just as much to the interest of the Small forces to avoid a break with Crowe and Barrett as it was to the latter's interest to retain some friends in the camp of the pretended enemy. It need not surprise us, therefore, to

Bulletin, full of lies about me. I think that justifies my saying that your political monicker ought not to be 'fox' but 'rat.'"

"Doc" was similarly castigated for ingratitude. Outside the theater where this occurred hung the sign: "Cort Theater—Pigs—A Comedy." It should have read "Rats—A Farce!" Cf. *News*, April 6, *Tribune*, April 7, and other papers of like date.

¹³ These terms applied to Crowe, Barrett, Brundage, and Thompson in the *News* editorial, "Where Does the Public Come In?" January 23.

discover that the Home-Rule group maintained many connections with the Small forces which they were publicly engaged in attacking throughout the campaign. Before considering these in detail let us turn to the relation of the Deneen group to the Small-Lundin issue.

This was the first county primary since the election of Charles S. Deneen to the United States Senate in 1924. It was, therefore, his first opportunity to translate this victory into terms of increased political power in Cook County. The Deneen group, though commanding much public respect, was not strong in numbers or patronage power at the outset of the campaign. The most important county office held was that of county recorder, occupied by Joseph F. Haas, one of the chief Deneen lieutenants. The county coroner, Oscar Wolff, had recently transferred his allegiance from the Crowe-Barrett to the Deneen group, as a result of differences with State's Attorney Crowe over the performance of official duties. Probate Court Clerk John F. Devine, Municipal Court Clerk James A. Kearns, and County Reviewer Edward R. Litsinger were leading aids of Senator Deneen. The latter, however, as minority member of the Board of Review, exercised only nominal power. Other Deneen followers, including a number of Municipal, Circuit, and Superior judges, eight members of the legislature, and minority members of the South Park Board, Sanitary Board, and County Commission controlled little patronage, and hence could render only limited aid to the electoral campaign.

The combined opposition, on the other hand, controlled an extremely powerful group of offices. The en-

tire law-enforcing machinery of the county, including the offices of state's attorney and sheriff, and carrying not only much patronage but tremendous coercive power, was in its hands. It controlled the Board of Assessors and the Board of Review, thus dominating tax matters in the county. It claimed many friendly judges, and the clerks of the Criminal and Circuit courts. Through Senators McCormick and McKinley it had gained some federal patronage, including the federal district attorney. Through bi-partisan control of the South Park Board, Sanitary District Board, and county commission it shared in the tremendous patronage of these bodies. The secret understanding with the Brennan Democrats likewise assured it of friendly treatment by Democratic officers, as shown by the incident of the ballot findings, though this did not extend to the office of county judge.

It is obvious, in view of these overpowering hostile battalions, that Senator Deneen and his followers were not in a position to make a frontal attack. Peace by negotiation would be much less risky. The December harmony negotiations, however, failed, and though Busse, Wolff, and Albert had been added to the Deneen following, this was more than counterbalanced by the return of Brundage and the adhesion of Thompson to Crowe and Barrett.¹⁴ But one alliance remained for the Deneen group to consider—that with Small and Lundin. The advantages and disadvantages of such an alliance merited consideration. A certain amount of connection already existed, as the Small forces had lined up with Deneen against McCormick in 1924. Moreover, "politics

¹⁴ See chap. i.

make strange bedfellows,"¹⁵ and expediency might dictate a combination that superficially seemed inconceivable. Solid Small support all down the line for a Deneen county ticket would probably double its strength and really give it a chance for success, while without the state patronage and Small war chest things were likely to go extremely hard with the Deneenites. On the other hand, the chief hold of Deneen and his followers on the voting public of Cook County was their reputation for probity and respectability—not that they made any pretense at being "lily-fingers" or "high-hats," but that the public believed them free from the grosser abuses of politics and possessed of at least a measurable degree of civic responsibility. The greatest strength of the Deneen vote was found in the solid residential sections of the city and among the business and professional classes. Now Small and Lundin were anathema to this section of Chicago's citizenry. What, moreover, would become of the support usually received from civic organizations and leaders and the progressive press, all hostile to Small?

In answer to these objections to a Small-Lundin alliance, the following considerations were advanced. It might be possible to accept Small-Lundin aid without admitting it. Aid from persons associated with the Small group could be explained on the ground that the Small machine had disintegrated, a statement that could be confirmed by pointing to Small followers in the Crowe-

¹⁵ Thompson quoted this proverb rather ruefully in his speeches. "Who would ever have expected to find Bill Thompson and the *Tribune* on the same side of a question?" he reflected!

Barrett camp. Furthermore, the disintegration of the governor's forces might actually be an accomplished fact before the primary, due to development of the interest suit affair. Finally, by playing up strongly the "bi-partisanship" argument, attention might be diverted from Small as from the World Court and concentrated on "Home Rule in the Republican party."

Even if the soundness of these suppositions was doubted, there remained the fact that the Small-Lundin alliance was difficult to avoid. Senator Deneen might have preferred, personally, to make no strong campaign, and wait for a more favorable situation. In such a case, the wishes of the leader are apt to yield to the pleas of the privates in the ranks and their captains and lieutenants, who view with alarm the prospect of being abandoned to their fate. Moreover, Small was out to capture the legislature. He was bound to have at least a partial ticket in the county. If a Small-Lundin alliance were shunned, the Deneen ticket might face two opponents instead of one.

All of the factors above outlined entered into the formation of the Small-Lundin-Deneen alliance. At first the Deneen group appeared to be acting alone. On January 26, however, the *Evening American*, friendly to the opposing group, announced that the Lundin-Small group was ready to co-operate with Senator Deneen and would join in the cry of "Home Rule for the Republican party."¹⁶ All doubt on this point was dispelled as a result of a conference held on February 18. Charles J. Peters, as emissary of the Small forces, declared: "I

¹⁶ *American*, January 26, article by Edward L. Gorey.

come here with the message that our organization will finance the campaign for this whole ticket throughout the city and county, and will do it as soon as you get your marked ballots out," while Thomas J. Healy, Deneen leader, admitted that "we are standing together as we did two years ago."¹⁷

Deneen slate-making ended with four Lundin-Small candidates on the county slate: Peters for sheriff, Wesley for county commissioner, Todd for drainage trustee, and Rudolph Mulac, Small appointee as member of the West Park Board, as candidate for county commissioner. In addition, no opponent was offered to Francis P. Brady, First Ward Small-Lundin follower, slated by Crowe-Barrett for renomination as clerk of the Appellate Court. If Senator Deneen or his followers had hoped that these indications of a Deneen-Small alliance would be overlooked, they were destined to disappointment. On the contrary, it was hailed as a fall from grace as spectacular as that of Lucifer. The *Daily News*, formerly friendly to Deneen, but its policy somewhat altered since the death of Victor Lawson, regretted his lapse, and as early as January 6 labeled his ticket as the "Deneen-Lundin" slate—a precedent followed consistently throughout the campaign. The *Tribune*, rather hostile than friendly, was glad of an opportunity to discredit Deneen, cleverly suggesting that his tactics showed him to be no better than any of the other politicians.¹⁸ At one stroke, the support of reform and civic

¹⁷ *Tribune*, February 19.

¹⁸ "Senator" put the point, in his slangy way, most effectively: "Look at the slates. Whoever would have dreamed of Ed Brundage

organizations was forfeited—at least for the slate as a whole—and the whole affirmative campaign of the Deneen group was undermined.

Senator Deneen's defense proceeded along several lines. First, he said, there is no Small slate in Cook County. The so-called Small men on the ticket were named because of their own strength—because they were needed to complete a slate that could win. Furthermore, it was pointed out, there were far more Small men in the Crowe-Barrett combination than had been charged up against Deneen. Many candidates were cited to show how thoroughly entangled in Smallism the anti-Deneen combination was, and how little it was entitled to cast the first stone.¹⁹ An attempt was also made to refute the charge that a combination existed between Small and Deneen to elect the state ticket of the former.

Examining these three defenses, we find the first

and Bill Thompson ever wrapping their arms around each other's shoulders. . . . Whoever would have thought a hookup would come between the Deneen bunch and Lundin, whose ruling ambition a few years ago was to trim Cousin Charley to suit? It's enough to knock an old timer cuckoo. . . . Lundin is the ancient enemy of Deneen; for twenty years they have been supposed to stand for opposite things in politics. Yet the terrible Swede lands places on the Deneen slate . . . four Lundin thumb-prints." (*Tribune*, February 14).

"Observer," in the *Herald and Examiner*, spoke cynically of "ridiculous backstage moves" and "utter lack of sincerity." "Oldtimers at the political three-shell game say they never knew anything like it. . . . Here they see Charles S. Deneen and Fred Lundin clasped in a loving embrace." . . . (*Herald and Examiner*, February 21). See also "Senator" in his comments, February 21 (*Tribune*).

¹⁹ Deneen speeches; also "National Republican Party" advertisement, in the *Tribune*, April 12, and elsewhere.

somewhat disingenuous. Whatever the merits of the men in question, their presence on the ticket was clear evidence of a tendency to compromise with Lundin. Genuine Deneen men were available for all these posts. If Deneen had intended to stand alone he would not have needed the assistance of Lundin in choosing his candidates. As for the second point, it was of no avail to say that Crowe and Barrett were equally branded with Smallism. Having forfeited his chance of arousing real civic enthusiasm, a "pot and kettle" argument was utterly ineffective.

An analysis of the situation in the legislative districts warrants the following generalizations. First, the Small-Lundin legislative slate covered the entire field, while neither the Deneen nor the Crowe-Barrett group offered a complete legislative slate. Secondly, the Small-Lundin slate indorsed many candidates recognized as distinctively affiliated with the Deneen group. It was, however, absurd in the extreme to assume on that account that all of these persons would become Small followers in the legislature. Many of them—MacMurray, Mrs. Goode, Swanson, and Thon, for example—had distinguished themselves for their independence and won the indorsement of the Legislative Voters' League. Third, in at least two cases, those of Juul and Swanson, Lundin candidates had been withdrawn to give a better chance for the Deneen nominee; on the other hand, in a number of instances, a brisk fight was carried on between Deneen and Lundin candidates. Fourth, Deneen local leaders marked their ballots for strictly Lundin men in a number of cases, e.g., Haenisch for senator in the Thirty-

first and Starr for senator in the Thirteenth. Fifth, the Lundin slate indorsed a number of candidates also supported by the Crowe-Barrett group. The outstanding instance of this was Thomas Curran in the Fifteenth District, who fused his affiliations to Crowe-Barrett and Lundin. Other cases were noted in the First, Second, Third, and Nineteenth districts. In the latter a Crowe-Barrett candidate, Marinier, was supported against the Deneenite, Weisbrod.²⁰

The most that can be said concerning this welter of affiliations is that Lundin-Small influence penetrated into both local camps, with a more obvious connection in the case of the Deneen group, but by no means a complete amalgamation. The facts do not justify a clean bill of health to Senator Deneen's followers, and for those who objected to the Small alliance, a slight taint was sufficient to prove the entire case.

The activities of the Small-Lundin group were in themselves sufficient to prevent its relation to the campaign being ignored. Through the Lundin headquarters in Chicago,²¹ two issues of an organ called the *Illinois Republican Council Bulletin* were issued, the first in January, the second early in April. Hundreds of thousands of these were mailed to voters in Cook County, the circulation of the second alone being placed at three-quarters of a million.²² The primary purpose of the first

²⁰ Cf. *News*, January 23, April 5; *Journal*, February 9, March 23; *American*, February 12, 25, April 9; *Tribune*, April 1, 4; *Herald and Examiner*, April 7.

²¹ Illinois Republican Council, 190 North Dearborn Street.

²² *Tribune*, April 10.

issue was to present the governor's case in aid of the "defense fund." It contained the texts of the majority and minority decisions of the Supreme Court in the interest suit, emphasizing the portions favorable to the governor. It also purported to expound the "truth about politics in Illinois," "exposing" the conspiracy of the "Tribune-Brennan-Barrett-Crowe-traction" interests to control the governor and legislature in order to raise traction rates. "Hypocritical reform organizations" were also alleged to be parties to the plot. Small was depicted as a "man of iron" and as the friend of the poor, the defender of the common people, the champion of their interests as opposed to those of organized exploitation. Apart from the appeal for funds, the most interesting thing about this issue of the *Bulletin* was its use of the leading Deneen campaign cry—"bi-partisanism."

The second issue, appearing in the height of the campaign, aroused much excitement, and provoked vigorous rejoinders from the Home-Rule group, including the Thompson "rat speech." It declared the "issue in the campaign" to be "honesty and decency in politics versus Brennan-Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson." This was the first of seven "exposes," the others being:

2. "Insincerity of Senator Borah exposed. In 1917 he voted for cloture and the world-war. Now he howls against gag rule and the court for world peace. He sponsored the naval disarmament conference whereby we cannot build a navy to protect our own shores without consent of Great Britain, Japan and France."

3. "William Hale Thompson 'flays Crowe' on January 25, 1924. William Hale Thompson 'eats Crowe,' October 16, 1924.

Prosecutor and ex-mayor convict themselves and each other of insincerity."

4 and 5. How ex-Mayor Thompson has deserted the car-riders and taxpayers of Chicago and has joined hands with the traction tools and the tax-dodgers whom he used to denounce.

6. "The sanitary district of Chicago—a sorry sample of Brennan-Crowe-Brundage-Thompson, Tribune bi-partisanship. The most corrupt and extravagant of all our local taxing bodies."

7. The story of Brennan and Barrett, the twin political pirates, who seek to extend their influence through spoils politics, bi-partisan deals, manipulations, combinations, and agreements.

Not only do we see the "bi-partisanship" argument again echoed here, but the *Bulletin* concluded with the Small-Lundin indorsements, which included the entire Deneen county ticket, all the Deneen candidates for municipal judge, and Deneen candidates for state superintendent of public instruction and clerk of the Supreme Court. Small's candidate for state treasurer, William J. Stratton, was substituted, and the legislative slate, as we have seen, did not correspond completely to that supported by Deneen leaders.²³ The indorsements as they stood, however, seemed on their face to justify the charge that the two groups had traded indorsements—Small-Lundin supporting the Deneen county slate, Deneen supporting the Small-Lundin legislative slate.

With these evidences of Small activity in the elections to the legislature before the voters, the Crowe-Barrett advocates were encouraged to press heavily the Small-Lundin-Deneen argument. The Home-Rule issue was restated in such a way as to include Deneen as a party to the conspiracy to destroy Chicago's control of

²³ Cf. digest in the *Journal*, April 8.

her own affairs.²⁴ As the day of voting approached, concentrated efforts were made to impress the voters with the notion that the Deneen candidates were Small candidates. We have noted the use of the Patten indorsement for Joseph P. Savage. The advertisements appearing in all the papers of April 12 listing the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson ticket carried the following heading: "REPUBLICANS Opposed to DENEEN-LUNDIN And Who Are For HOME RULE." Literature and indorsements circulated in various localities also pressed home this point.

The Small-Lundin yoke proved too heavy for the Deneen candidates to bear. Any resentment that may have been felt against the overplaying of the World Court issue, the well-nigh undenied charges of "bi-partisan alliances," the weighty accusation of criminal alliances, even the undeniable probity and high qualifications of almost all the Deneen candidates seemed to fail to sweep aside the unfortunate affiliation between Deneen leadership and the discredited Small-Lundin partnership. Civic organizations, spokesmen for the respec-

²⁴ Five points were included in the indictment: (1) A super-government machine to be created at Springfield through measures passed by a hand-picked legislature. (2) Cook County taxing bodies to be transferred to Springfield and thrown under administration control. (3) The sanitary district to be made a state department under the state superintendent of waterways. (4) South Park Commission to be put under the governor. (5) Control of legislature to be used to head off impeachment, control reapportionment and street-car legislation for Chicago (*Tribune*, March 23). Deneen spokesmen replied that Deneen legislators had always favored Home Rule, while Thompson and Crowe-Barrett men had supported measures hostile to Chicago interests (*ibid.*, March 24).

table citizens, the progressive press—none were able to indorse the Deneen ticket as a whole, and few individuals on it were able to mount above the general wave of protest against the Small-Lundin alliance. Deprived of the popular support that might reasonably have been expected to follow from the indorsement of the press and the civic organizations, the Deneen ticket was compelled to fall back on its organization strength. Even with Lundin aid, this was not sufficient to insure victory. There are even some indications that in making his alliance with Lundin Senator Deneen bartered his birthright of political respectability for a mess of pottage. The Small-Lundin interests were primarily interested in electing a legislative ticket. Rumors were not lacking that in certain cases the Lundin leaders "traded" Deneen county candidates for support for their legislative nominees.²⁵ We may well agree with the *News* that "the outstanding lesson of the result is that Small and Lundin were dead weights to a county ticket that was mainly excellent."²⁶

²⁵ This was charged in the case of Senator Haenisch, Thirty-first District, and Representative Johnson, Sixth District. *Tribune*, April 15.

²⁶ *News*, April 14.

CHAPTER VI

THE CRIME AND CORRUPTION ISSUE

The charges of corruption involved in the "bi-partisanship" issue were still further developed by allegations of a direct "alliance between crime and politics" in which leaders and candidates were involved, which in turn created a situation menacing the purity of elections.

This election did not create the crime issue; on the contrary, the crime issue thrust itself into the campaign because of its magnitude and pressing importance. No doubt there has always been some sort of a "crime wave," and the existence of a connection between criminals and politicians is no novelty in America. Post-war conditions, and particularly, in the view of many, the consequences of prohibition, have produced an alarming situation, notably in large urban centers. The inadequacy of existing methods of coping with this phenomenon was recognized in Chicago in 1919, when, on the initiative of the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Chicago Crime Commission was created. This agency, which continued to do much effective work in co-operation with the authorities, was supplemented by other voluntary local organizations, such as the Committee of Fifteen, and the Better Government Association, whose law enforcement officer, Rev. E. L. Williams, the "Fighting Parson," tirelessly pursued wrongdoers, exposed them through his publication, *Lightnin'*, and in a number of cases secured the removal of unfaithful public offi-

cers. In spite of official and unofficial efforts, however, the prevalence of crimes of violence in Cook County continued to be alarming. During the two and a half years prior to this primary election, ninety-three gang murders occurred in the "booze-wars" of Cook County, practically unpunished. The killing of Dean O'Banion, whose elaborate funeral advertised to the nation the existence in Chicago of a protected, powerful, and plutocratic gangland, was only the most spectacular of a long series. To outright murders and other crimes associated with the illicit liquor traffic were added all too frequent cases of robbery with a gun and protected gambling and vice. Some glaring cases of this sort attracted public attention during the progress of the primary campaign.¹ The seriousness of the situation was proclaimed by the approval expressed by twenty-seven leading civic organizations in Chicago of the formation of a "Chicago Association for Criminal Justice" to promote a co-operative campaign against crime. An annual budget of \$500,000 for this fighting unit was not thought too great, in view of the tremendous size of Chicago's annual crime bill, estimated at \$60,000,000.²

Inadequate law enforcement reflects directly on the law-enforcing authority. A report being considered at this time by the Illinois Bar Association and many other civic agencies of Illinois pointed out that "unchecked

¹ E.g. the International Harvester robbery; the gambling exposés of the *News*, February 17, 19, March 2. *Lightnin'*, Vol. I, No. 5, carried a cut of thirty newspaper headlines featuring robberies and murders during February and March.

² *Tribune*, January 15.

and unbalanced" powers of state's attorneys in starting, refusing to begin, or stopping criminal prosecutions have produced "the most ominous situation" ever confronting the public in its fight to lock the lid on crime.³

The chief proponent of these charges during this campaign was the Better Government Association. Its February bulletin laid the direct responsibility for "the partnership between crime and politics in Cook County" upon the Crowe-Thompson-Barrett group. The charge was elaborated pungently in *Lightnin'*. A favorite caption employed in its columns was a cut of a Black Crow(e) over the words "Caws of Crime."⁴ A brief quotation from one issue will indicate the tenor of its comments:

Mr. Crowe dared not do in this [the Tancl murder] what he did in Cicero once before. After the Duncan sisters had been assaulted . . . the policemen of Cicero were indicted. But Robert E. Crowe killed the case to get the Cicero vote and got it aplenty. Which reminds me that when gunmen carried that election for Mr. Crowe in Cicero and were indicted for kidnapping peaceful citizens, the defendants were to be prosecuted by Mr. Savage. That case slumbers and will, unless a comfortable way can be found to acquit. Gunmen are not giving up thousands of dollars for nothing.⁵

Not satisfied with revealing from time to time details illustrative of "criminal politics," the Association determined toward the end of February to request a federal investigation of outlawry in Chicago. A petition was drawn up, taken to Washington by Dr. Edward T. Lee and E. L. Williams, and presented to the Senate by

³ *Herald and Examiner*, March 15.

⁴ Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1.

⁵ *Lightnin'*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 2.

Vice-President Dawes at the request of the Association. The opportunity for its presentation was the existence of current proposals for deporting alien criminals as a cure for the crime evil. The petition was referred to the Senate Committee on Immigration, Senator Johnson, chairman, which, after some deliberation, refused to interfere, characterizing the question as one for Chicago herself to settle.⁶

Some of the high lights of this petition were as follows:

. . . . Evidences multiply daily that many public officials are in secret alliance with the underworld of assassins, gunmen, rum runners, bootleggers, thugs, ballot box stuffers and repeaters. . . .

That a ring of politicians and public officials, operating through criminals and with dummy directors, are conducting a number of breweries. . . .

The Gennas and their friends and associates were in the closest relationship and companionship with the state's attorney and his officers, and on the 16th day of October, 1924, they gave him an immense banquet in the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, and he made the principal speech.⁷

A picture of this banquet was appended, as also of another likewise attended by politicians and gangsters.

Although the plea of the Association for an investigation was rejected, as must have been expected, much excitement arose in connection with the charges made so publicly. Mr. Crowe denied the charges *in toto*.

The Better Government Association and Mr. Lee are a group of congenital liars looking for cheap advertising in their campaign to put over "Diamond Joe" Esposito and other candidates. The Gennas never gave a dinner in their lives.⁸

⁶ Cf. newspapers, February 28 to March 2, *passim*.

⁷ From *Lightnin'*, Vol. I, No. 5.

⁸ *American*, February 27.

He blamed Deneen for the exposé, charging it to be a mere political move, a charge declared by Superintendent Davis, of the Association, to be "wholly false, and . . . a sample of Mr. Crowe's willingness to make any statement he thinks will save him from the merited political oblivion toward which he is headed."⁹ Others besides Mr. Crowe resented the Association's move. The *Tribune* took it up, publishing the photograph of the alleged "Genna dinner," and characterizing it as having been given by the "Italian Republican Club" as a testimonial to candidates before the election, and as attended by leading Deneen Republicans as well as by Mr. Crowe and his followers. As a counterweight, the *Tribune* also published a photograph showing Senator Deneen and leading members of his group at a christening celebration given by "Diamond Joe" Esposito, now Deneen candidate for county commissioner, and a storm center in the campaign.¹⁰ The *Tribune* resented the action of the Association, and bitterly assailed Superintendent Davis.¹¹ In its editorials it ascribed the crime situation to "yellow" jurors, paroles, and prohibition rather than to "criminal politics."¹² The *News* was more sympathetic, and the *Journal* did not condemn the motives of the Association, though disapproving of its methods.¹³

⁹ *Herald and Examiner*, March 1.

¹⁰ *Tribune*, March 1.

¹¹ In the editorial "Our Reform Addicts Shoot the Works," March 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, and March 2: "Causes of Crime."

¹³ *News*, March 2, refers to the "notorious banquet"; cf. *Journal* editorials, March 5, March 8.

Mayor Dever was thoroughly aroused at the "attack upon Chicago." He declared that there was not a well-known vice resort in Chicago, and by a personal tour of inspection demonstrated that the breweries mentioned in the petition were closed. He even proposed to go to Washington himself to refute, before the Senate committee, the charges made.¹⁴

Balked in its hope of a federal inquiry, the Association issued a demand for a special grand jury to investigate the local situation, and urged Mayor Dever to join in the demand. This proposal was being discussed when the relations between the Association and Brennan in 1924 were revealed by the latter. This had as fatal consequences on the effectiveness of the "criminal politics" argument as it had on that "bi-partisanship" charge previously uttered. The Association was forced to defend itself, and thus lost the vantage ground it might otherwise have gained. It did not, however, "give up the ship." The Brennan gift was accounted for in a manner which satisfied most of the supporters of the Association, and it continued to exercise some influence on the campaign. In the last week a theater was engaged for a noon meeting; this was addressed by E. L. Williams, who displayed slides of the "gang dinners" and repeated his attacks upon State's Attorney Crowe.¹⁵

¹⁴ All papers, March 3, 4, 5; especially *Journal*, March 5.

¹⁵ A card distributed to advertise this address stated that "Elmer L. Williams will pick a Crowe. A feather to every guest FREE." On the reverse it bore, under the "black crow," and the press item: "Rob-

The criminal affiliations of the Crowe-Barrett group and Mr. Crowe's record as prosecutor were also assailed by the Deneen candidates. The increase in murders during his term of office,¹⁶ the large number of cases involving wealthy criminals nolle prossed or dismissed, collusion in prosecutions through the assignment of weak prosecutors while defendants were provided with attorneys affiliated politically with the state's attorney, suppression of evidence at inquests, and charges of like

ert E. Crowe rips into World Court," the following specimen of the "Fighting Parson's" poetry:

HE KEPT US OUT OF COURT

The Barrett, Brennan, Crowe combine,
According to report,
Have signed up Big Bill Thompson,
And will keep us out of court.

The Genna boys are dying off
With boots on like a sport,
They made a million peddlin' hooch,
Crowe kept 'em out of court.

The gang that stole the pension funds,
Are several millions short,
They never lost a wink of sleep,
Crowe kept 'em out of court.

The pirates on the drainage board
Still plan to hold the fort;
The Eller, Kelly, King combine,
Crowe keeps 'em out of court.

The criminals do not fear the law
When chided they just snort;
"We pay that guy to hold the bag,
He keeps us out of court."

"Throw 'way your hammers, get a horn,"
And make a loud report,
Join in the song with sweet accord—
'Crowe keeps us out of court.'"

¹⁶ 1920: 194; 1925: 352. *Tribune*, January 15.

character were cited. "They talk about Home Rule and the World Court," remarked Alderman Albert, "but we'll accept them as judges of gang rule and the criminal court!"¹⁷ The issue, however, fared even less well than the "bi-partisanship" appeal. It shared in the discredit accruing to the Better Government Association from the Brennan exposé. Moreover, Mr. Crowe, with his usual adroitness, was able to repel the attack rather effectively. He cited a 600 per cent increase in convictions for crime during his incumbency, and quoted the indorsement of his record by the Crime Commission and the Committee of Fifteen. He compared his record with that of Senator Deneen when the latter was state's attorney, asserting that he had turned over to the county in fees more than six times as much money as Mr. Deneen had received during his term of office—and put in his own pocket. Likewise he called attention to the open vice prevalent in Deneen's time in contrast to present conditions. This was blatant effrontery, since Mr. Deneen was acknowledged to have made one of the best state's attorneys Cook County had ever had. Nevertheless, the retort had some effect. The Better Government Association was assailed and appeal made to belief in Chicago. "Not a bad city—worthy of pride—will be the greatest city in the world in our lifetime"—these assertions threw the charges of the "reformers" into the category of defamations. Finally, the onus of Smallism was hung around Mr. Deneen's neck. "I say to Charlie Deneen that if he wants to end crime in Cook County, the best way is for him to get his pal and political partner,

¹⁷ Speech, February 25.

Len Small, to quit signing pardons and turning out the gunmen, rapists, and murderers as fast as I can put them in the penitentiary. It takes me as much as two weeks to convict a murderer, but Deneen's friend Small can turn them loose in fifteen seconds."¹⁸

Mr. Crowe's bold defense apparently nullified the charges of criminal alliances made against his faction, and little if any advantage accrued to the groups responsible for enunciating them. Events occurring shortly after the primary again brought the subject into the limelight, but served only as another opportunity for the state's attorney to display his adroitness. On April 27 occurred the murder of William McSwiggin, a young assistant state's attorney, under circumstances which seemed to point to an intimate connection between politics and the "beer racket" in the West Side wards and in Cicero. Public opinion was much disturbed, and a large group, for which Harry Eugene Kelly, president of the Union League Club, was spokesman, demanded a special grand jury investigation directed by someone other than Crowe, whose factional affiliations were pointed to as disqualifying him from going deeply into the politico-criminal activities of the West Side gangland. While this notion of a special investigation was being played with by civic leaders and the newspapers, Mr. Crowe took vigorous action on his own part. Denouncing his critics as "notoriety seekers" and "officious meddlers," he secured a grand jury of his own from Judge William V. Brothers, a factional ally, called in the friendly aid of Attorney-General Carlstrom, and effectively shut off the

¹⁸ Numerous speeches, e.g., Selwyn Theater, April 7.

possibility of a hostile inquiry. The attention of this jury was diverted to the pardon record of the Small administration, and its final report completely exonerated both Crowe and McSwiggin without explaining the death of the latter. In the meantime the rush of events drew the attention of the public from the issue of "criminal politics." The McSwiggin murder was again taken up, in July and August, by the special grand jury under Judge McDonald. New witnesses were discovered, but the affair seemed destined to remain a mystery, both as to the identity of the assassins and as to its political implications.

Important as was the general issue of "crime and politics," even greater attention was attracted, during the campaign, to the problem of maintaining the purity of elections. One of the objections raised against Judge Jarecki's renomination was his vigor in prosecuting offenses against the ballot; as a matter of record several cases of ballot frauds and violence were pending in the courts during this campaign. It was the current belief, frequently expressed, that at every election in Chicago, 50,000 fraudulent ballots were cast,¹⁹ and this charge was specifically levied against the most recent ballot—that on the Dever traction ordinance.²⁰

In a series of articles appearing in the *News*, Gregory T. Dillon outlined the types of fraud employed in recent elections in Chicago. These included fraudulent registrations, collusion among election officials, intimi-

¹⁹ *News*, December 12, 1925; *ibid.* editorial, February 5; Dillon article, February 17.

²⁰ *Journal*, March 9.

dation of election officials, stuffing the ballot box by various methods, such as the use of "stingers" or repeaters, voting in the name of dead men or absentees and otherwise falsifying the poll lists, making false returns, chain voting, and the voting of Democrats in the Republican primaries and vice versa. Mr. Dillon pointed out examples of the practice of these frauds, as in the negro wards in the Oglesby-Small contest in 1920 and in the river wards under Dean O'Banion and other gangsters, likewise in the Eller election in 1923. He suggested that these and other frauds might be anticipated in the 1926 primary unless every precaution were taken by an aroused electorate both at the registration and at the election.²¹

The practice of such frauds by the opposing faction and the need of safeguarding against the enthronement of corrupt politics was urged by Judge Trude, Deneen candidate for county judge, as his chief campaign issue. Savage was characterized as the tool of Crowe-Brennan bi-partisanism, his victory portrayed as the triumph of the corrupt gangsters. Judge Trude's election circular, "Citizens, Protect Your Ballots!" teemed with press citations of election frauds in the past, material connecting the opposition with these frauds, and commendations of his honesty and ability to correct these evils.

The progress of the campaign revealed the presence of the evil forces described by Mr. Dillon. In many wards the period of registration and revision was one of alarm, tumult, threats, and violence. March 23 was registration day. On *prima facie* returns a large increase in

²¹ *News*, February 17, 18, 19, 20, 22.

registration was noted, a result pleasing to all factions. There were added 222,280 new names, bringing the total registration for Chicago to 1,282,382.²² Joy was short-lived, however. On the twenty-fifth Roy O. West, Deneen chairman, announced that the fraudulent registration was the worst in the history of the city. In precinct after precinct, he said, sixty-eight fraudulent enrolments were found; "I am curious to know what magic lies in that number," he added. More colonization occurred, he declared, than in the bitterly contested election of 1920. Crowe-Barrett gangsters were alleged to have patrolled certain West Side wards. Morris Eller was charged with placing 1,500 "phony" names in the first thirteen precincts alone of his ward, the Twentieth, and 2,000 more in the Twenty-fourth Ward.²³

The Deneen forces were extremely busy challenging the alleged fraudulent registration, and in pursuance of these challenges, suspect notices were mailed by the election commissioners' office. These reached the unprecedented number of 250,000, requiring a large staff of clerks to get them out. In this whole series of events, the Crowe forces saw only a "Deneen-Lundin-Small conspiracy" to exclude Crowe-Barrett voters from the polls. As a result of the revision, there were 218,217 names stricken off the lists.²⁴ Hearings were continued before the election commissioners, and still further eliminations were made, not without various irregularities coming to light. In the Twenty-seventh Ward, nearly 1,000 bogus

²² *Tribune, News, etc.*, March 24.

²³ *Tribune, Herald and Examiner, News, etc.*, March 25, 26.

²⁴ *Tribune, Herald and Examiner, Journal*, March 28, 29.

affidavits, apparently emanating from the organization of state Senator George Van Lent, Small-Lundin leader, were discovered. Homer Galpin, Crowe-Barrett chairman, threatened grand jury action as a result of these disclosures.²⁵ Legitimate challenges, however, resulted in removing 20,000 additional names, leaving the number of qualified voters at 1,060,118 or 5,000 fewer than were qualified to vote at the presidential election in 1924. In addition to the precinct revisions, 21,700 suspect notices had been sent out by the election board; 971 of these were found to be based on forged affidavits; only 681 persons appeared before the board in answer to notices sent, all but fifty of whom qualified.²⁶

These registration disputes, continuing up to within a few days of the primary election, constituted no favorable portent for an honest primary. The *News* well remarked: "A battle of habeas corpus writs, arrests and counter arrests, violent exchanges of vituperative epithets and loose talk of conspiracies to steal the primary will not suffice to protect the ballot boxes."²⁷ As election day approached, extraordinary precautions were undertaken for preventing violence and fraud. Senator Deenen himself asked United States Marshal Palmer Anderson to appoint special deputies to watch the polls in Cicero, the Twentieth Ward, and other places controlled by State's Attorney Crowe's group,²⁸ and the Election

²⁵ *Tribune, Post*, April 6.

²⁶ *Tribune, News*, April 8. Final total as reported by election board.

²⁷ Editorial, *News*, March 30.

²⁸ *Herald and Examiner*, April 11.

Board reinforced the request in a telegram to Washington. The excuse for this action was that senatorial candidates were involved in the primary. A force of a thousand federal deputies was being mobilized, five hundred already having received their stars, when a special order from Attorney-General Sargent countermanded the plan as being outside federal authority.²⁹ Some of these prospective deputies were retained by the Deneen and McKinley interests, the expense being shared.³⁰ Thirty detective squads were instructed to patrol their districts and arrest gunmen suspected of interfering with the election. More than 60,000 watchers' credentials were issued by the Election Board. At least one policeman was assigned to every polling place, and fifty more held in reserve by the Election Board.

In spite of precautions, violence began early. Early on the morning of the eleventh, Walter Johnston, Sixteenth Ward Crowe-Barrett worker, was found shot; no political motives were apparent, but much excitement attended the discovery. Three Deneen workers were kidnapped in the Twentieth Ward on the evening of the twelfth. As election day wore on, wild rumors circulated. The evening papers carried lengthy reports of the abuses practiced, which included intimidation of voters and election officials, kidnapping of workers and officials, illegal marking of ballots, voting of "floaters" and other forms of "stuffing," and several shooting affrays.³¹

²⁹ *Journal, American*, etc., April 12.

³⁰ This item cost \$1,500. Testimony of Roy O. West before Reed committee, *Tribune*, July 28.

³¹ *News, American, Journal, Post*, April 13.

After the excitement following the announcement of the police returns had died down, attention began to be directed to the frauds believed to have been committed. Quiet investigations brought the conviction that "notorious gunmen and gangsters waged an unrelenting campaign of intimidation and terrorism without a precedent in Cook County elections."³² A Republican leader was quoted to the effect that

It was the crookedest primary election in the political history of the state, and in the interest of honest elections in the future the mask must be torn away and the guilty parties exposed. In many instances, particularly in the Twentieth, Twenty-fourth and Forty-second wards, it is evident from the official canvass that the precinct election officials weighed instead of counting the ballots.³³

Other details of the charges may be summarized as follows.

1. Democrats voted in the Republican primaries, 60,000 being an average estimate.³⁴

2. Returns were falsely certified. Illustration: in one precinct all Crowe-Barrett candidates received 97 votes, all Deneen candidates 5 votes each.

3. Ballot boxes stuffed. Illustration: in the Twentieth Ward, Savage received 6,918 votes, Trude 377. This totals 1,210 more votes than Coolidge received in 1924.

³² *News*, April 21.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Opinions differed as to the amount of "crossing." The *News*, as cited, placed the figure at 60,000. Edward L. Gorey in the *American* cited estimates as high as 90,000 (April 14). The *Tribune*, April 14, pointed out that the Democratic vote fell 45,000 short of the estimate, but that it was improbable that this many strayed over into the Republican camp.

In the Twenty-seventh Ward the total vote for county judge was 819 greater than the 1924 Coolidge vote.³⁵

Besides the observations of candidates and workers for the various factions, reports of unofficial watchers threw light upon the methods followed in polling places throughout the city. Three hundred representatives of the Junior Chamber of Commerce bearing credentials from the county judge visited the polls in many wards and reported minor irregularities.³⁶ A carefully planned survey, conducted under the direction of Professors Mott and Kerwin of the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago covering 164 precincts in 40 wards, revealed the following frequently practiced irregularities:

1. Judges absent from the polls during the vote and during the count.
2. Electioneering in the polls.
3. Ballots not initialed; given to the voters folded.
4. Instructions given to voters without administering the oath of incapacity or illiteracy. Instructions given by precinct captains and workers.
5. Ballots marked outside of the polling booths.
6. Ballot boxes opened before close of voting period.
7. Poll books not promptly filled out.
8. Outsiders assisted in counting ballots.
9. Several teams counting at once.
10. Tallying done on scrap paper and copied on tally sheets.

³⁵ *News*, April 21, *Herald and Examiner*, April 22 and editorial same date.

³⁶ *News*, *American*, *Journal*, *Post*, April 13.

11. Only one tally kept; second tally copied from first.

12. Ballots carelessly and inaccurately counted.

13. "Half-votes" for representative not counted.

14. Mistakes by tally clerks not verified by recount.

These early revelations seemed to justify the view expressed by the *Herald and Examiner*:

The desirability, in fact the necessity, of a close recount of actual ballots and of fearless and final investigation of the results that recount is bound to reveal in some cases, is clear both from the news of primary day and from the figures. If a primary is to be merely an enormously expensive way of politically short changing the city, then the city should know it. If it is to be anything like an honest record of public preference for this candidate or that, it will have to be mopped up and fumigated. From this distance April 13 smells less like a polling booth than a sewer.³⁷

As the official canvass, which began April 15, progressed, a number of the defeated candidates, including Judge Trude, Charles J. Peters, and William Busse of the Deneen slate and George H. Hough of the Crowe-Barrett slate, announced that they would file demands for a recount.³⁸ The canvass itself proceeded slowly. The election commissioners considered evidence pointing toward irregularities, but remained undecided whether or not to examine all the discrepancies revealed. This, it was pointed out, might take all summer, and might end inconclusively. Both factions claimed to be armed with proof of wrongdoing by their opponents; the commission eventually decided, however, to issue a set of official returns and allow any changes to be made by the circuit court in pursuance of contests filed by defeated candi-

³⁷ *Herald and Examiner*, April 22.

³⁸ *News*, April 26, etc.

dates. A month passed before this decision was reached, and the official returns did not appear till the third week in May.³⁹ In the meantime, forces began to operate looking toward harmonizing the factional controversy. It was pointed out that the Democrats looked with much joy at the prospect of Republican election contests lasting during the summer, and senatorial nominee Frank L. Smith was reported to favor Cook County harmony in the Republican ranks as an offset to the menace of George Brennan's wet platform. Presidential pressure in the interest of harmony was to be sought, and it was reported that Senator Deneen might be offered full control of the national end of the fall campaign in return for dropping the proposed contests.⁴⁰ It need scarcely be pointed out that the success of these negotiations would have involved ignoring the unsavory aspects of the past primary, and allowing the ballot thieves to go unpunished.

These harmony plans, however, did not materialize. Judge Trude declared he would go through with the recount, even though he knew it meant signing his political death warrant. Other contests were filed by William L. Morgan, Deneen man barely defeated for municipal judge, Charles W. Goodnow, William Busse, Charles J. Peters, William A. Boyer, candidates for county commissioner, president of the County Board, sheriff, and assessor, besides three of the defeated candidates for county commissioner in the country districts. All of these contests were to be heard, according to the statute, before County Judge Jarecki, except that of Judge

³⁹ *Tribune*, May 13.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, May 14.

Trude, probably the most important of all. Trude's petition had an interesting history. An attempt was made by his attorneys, Howard P. Castle and Harry Eugene Kelly, to have the recount conducted by Superior Judge Michael McKinley, an anti-organization Democrat, by arranging with a clerk to have the case placed on the calendar of Judge Foell, whose cases were being heard by Judge McKinley during Judge Foell's vacation. Mr. Savage's attorney protested that Judge McKinley was prejudiced, as shown by a series of articles published in the *Daily News* on the crime situation which had taken an unfavorable attitude toward Mr. Crowe. The executive committee of the Superior Court removed the case from Judge McKinley and assigned it to Judge Holdom. The latter after much deliberation denied the petition, reinstated it at the request of a committee of the Bar Association, held it under advisement until the last day of the term, and then finally, disregarding the arguments of the Bar Association brief, reaffirmed his denial. The basis of this decision was that petitions for recounts should be filed in the Circuit, not the Superior Court. Judge Holdom's action was severely criticized by the *Daily News*, which pointed out that the jurisdictions of the two courts were identical and declared that "except in criminal cases the rule of strict construction is being discarded by justice-loving courts."⁴¹ Although no official recount of the Trude-Savage ballots was ever ordered, Judge Jarecki had these tabulated along with the others being counted under his direction. At the time of Judge Holdom's final decision, Trude had gained about

⁴¹ *News*, August 2.

4,000 votes, revealing at least a possibility that Savage's majority of 22,000 would be upset.

The other recounts did not indicate the likelihood of startling upsets in the results, but served to confirm the early charges of disgraceful corruption at the polls. Candidates on both Republican tickets were shown to have profited by ballot thefts. In the Twentieth Ward, the returns seemed to confirm charges levied against Harry Hockstein, the Lundin-Deneen leader in the ward that he had "sold out" to the Eller interests just before the primary. Hockstein had sued Sanitary Trustee Link for libel for making this charge, but the returns showed heavy thefts in favor of a ticket including Esposito for county commissioner, Heller for municipal judge—both Deneen men—as well as a long list of Crowe-Barrett candidates. Stolen votes for county commissioner ran from 1,135 for Gerds to 2,080 for Esposito; for municipal judge the twelve highest candidates received from 1,060 to 2,000 unearned tallies. Not all Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson candidates were favored, Golan, a Thompson man, getting only 74 stolen votes, and Peterson, a Brundage man, only 45. Trude made a net gain of 814 votes, Boyer of 713, and Busse of 812.⁴²

Morris Eller declared before the Reed committee, investigating expenditures in the senatorial campaign, that all this corruption was due to criminal election officials appointed by Judge Jarecki and Commissioner Czarnecki, but most of the persons cited by him to prove this accusation were shown by the election commission records not to have served at all.⁴³ Other West Side

⁴² *Ibid.*, July 8.

⁴³ *Tribune*, August 6.

wards showed similarly startling results, notably the Twenty-seventh, home of Homer Galpin, and the Twenty-first, Charles V. Barrett's ward. Mr. Crowe's own ward, the Twenty-ninth, showed 1,169 votes "miscounted" for McMillan and 400 for Savage—Crowe's favorite candidates.⁴⁴ The returns in the Twentieth and Twenty-seventh wards were so obviously falsified that a demand was made that the entire vote be thrown out.⁴⁵ Contests had also been filed by a number of O'Connell-Dunne Democrats, and the recount of Democratic ballots showed that even more had been stolen for the Brennan men than for the Republicans.⁴⁶ At the request of Senator Reed, a recount of senatorial ballots was begun by Judge Jarecki, and the returns showed that this contest was also involved in the mess of thievery.⁴⁷

The results of the recount as far as it had been completed at the termination of the senatorial investigation were sufficient to confirm all the serious charges made. Every kind of ballot thievery had been practiced, and all of the factions had profited by it to a greater or less degree. Judge Jarecki, in his testimony before the Reed committee, asserted that there had been a "dishonest election" in certain localities, and alluded to concerted plans of intimidation on primary day "working in support of the Barrett-Crowe faction."⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, July 22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, July 16.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, July 14.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, July 25.

⁴⁸ *News*, August 4. Commissioner Goodnow's recount was stopped on a technicality, it being shown that he had filed more than five days after the returns had been announced, but in any case he had failed to gain on Goins, the negro candidate who stood at the bottom of the Crowe-Barrett list. Webster, who was contesting Steinert's nomination

Concurrently with the recounts, a grand jury investigation of vote frauds was being carried on. To the surprise of many, Mr. Crowe had made a request for the calling of this body, which was ordered by Chief Justice Lynch of the Criminal Court. Ex-Judge Charles A. McDonald was made the special prosecutor, and at his request a special aid, Attorney Lloyd D. Heth, was appointed on the recommendation of the Bar Association.⁴⁹ Many witnesses were called from wards in which frauds had been revealed, but owing to the unwillingness of these to reveal the identity of the "higher-ups" who issued the orders for ballot thefts, disappointing progress was made. By the end of the term of the second jury—a new one being impanelled each month—over 150 indictments had been voted, but these were chiefly against election judges and clerks, the only important leaders included being Harry Hockstein, Deneen-Lundin leader in the Twentieth Ward, and William V. Pacelli, member of the legislature and Crowe-Barrett stalwart in the same ward.⁵⁰ Judge Jarecki, however, taking advantage of his power to cite election officials for contempt, began proceedings against them in this fashion, five judges in the Thirteenth Ward being given six-month sentences

in the Twenty-fifth Senatorial District before Circuit Judge Friend, failed to show gains in the first precincts counted, and this recount was dropped. The O'Connell-Dunne candidates had to drop their recounts because of lack of funds to pay watchers. After 382 precincts had been recounted, the stolen votes for a number of Crowe-Barrett judges had mounted beyond 7,000, with 1,888 precincts yet to go! *News*, July 22, etc.

⁴⁹ *Tribune*, June 5, 23.

⁵⁰ *News*, July 6, 22, 29.

on August 4.⁵¹ Without further pursuing the subject, we must agree with the grand jury in its declaration that the right of the franchise was entirely destroyed in many localities, and with the statement of the *Daily News* that the charges made by the Deneen candidates were largely verified.⁵²

We may conclude this discussion by inquiring why the issue of "purity of elections" produced no effect on the results of the primary. On the past performance of the two factions, and on the merits of the two candidates for county judge, the advantage should have rested distinctly with the Deneen group. Mr. Crowe, however, dealt with this matter no less effectively than with the question of "crime and politics." He endeavored to counteract Judge Trude's splendid record and the unanimous support accorded him by civic bodies, first by reflecting on his Republicanism, and secondly, by building up the candidacy of Mr. Savage himself. Mr. Crowe devoted his personal efforts very largely to the campaign for Savage's election. The World Court appeal, the appeal to ex-service men, the appeal to the ordinary citizen's respect for a self-made man—these and others were pressed to Mr. Savage's aid. The charge of corruption, moreover, was hurled back at the Deneenites. If 50,000 votes were stolen at the traction election, the Deneen people did it, since they controlled the Republican election judges and clerks. By the same reasoning they must have been responsible for the frauds in con-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, August 4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 14, 29.

nection with registration.⁵³ Selecting for attack two of the few vulnerable individuals associated with the Deneen organization, he put the rhetorical question to Judge Trude, "If you are elected will you allow Esposito to name the election officials in his ward, and Van Lent to select criminals pardoned by Small?"⁵⁴ Finally, specific use was made of the "Small label." A statement made by James A. Patten, formerly rated a Deneen supporter, was given much publicity, and reprinted as an advertisement in three newspapers on April 9:

I especially feel that Lundin influences should be kept out of all election machinery and out of the county treasurer's office.

I shall vote for Joseph P. Savage for county judge solely because of my fear of any possible Small influence in Chicago elections.⁵⁵

In spite of these efforts, Savage was expected to be the low man on the Crowe-Barrett ticket. He pulled through, however, with a 22,245 majority according to the official returns. The Crowe strategy had proved successful. Trude's advantages in fitness and significant endorsements were sufficiently nullified to allow Savage to ride to victory on the anti-World Court wave.

⁵³ *American*, March 26. Savage repeated the charge, promising to "throw out the crooked Deneen-Lundin judges." *American*, April 6.

⁵⁴ *Tribune*, March 25.

⁵⁵ *Herald and Examiner, News, Journal*, April 9.

CHAPTER VII

"BEER AND WINE" AS A PRIMARY ISSUE

It would be reasonable to expect that the question of modification of the Volstead Act would play some part in an important Cook County campaign. Sentiment favoring modification seemed to be growing rapidly through the nation during the period in which this primary took place, and naturally much publicity was given to this development in Chicago, avowedly a center of "wet" sentiment. As we have seen, the charges made of alliances between crime and politics dealt very largely with the illicit liquor traffic and its political protectors, and there were not lacking those who agreed with the *Tribune* that the crime situation itself was "ninety per cent or more the product of the prohibition law."¹

In the county primary campaign between the Deneen and Crowe-Barrett factions, however, the prohibition issue played practically no part. It was not mentioned in the Crowe-Barrett platform, nor was it included in the issues stressed by Deneen spokesmen. Individual candidates frequently mentioned their personal bias in speaking to audiences whose views were known, but both groups, as a matter of campaign strategy, evaded the issue altogether. This may be accounted for in a number of ways. It might be said that it was not a "local" issue, but neither was the World Court, which

¹ Editorial, *Tribune*, March 3.

proved to be an extremely "vocal" issue in spite of its apparent irrelevance. Again, neither group may have wished to commit itself at this time, since to do so would unnecessarily alienate votes. Finally, the issue had been claimed at an early stage of the campaign by the Democrats, who thus gained by pre-emption the right to make whatever profit they might of it.

It became known at an early date that the Democratic aim was that platform and candidates should be "dripping wet." The county managing committee was told on January 15² that Home Rule and beer would be the major Democratic issues, and it was forecast at this time that the employment of the issue would greatly increase Democratic chances in the general election, perhaps even make possible the election of a United States senator.³ Michael Igoe, a leading wet, was made chairman of the Resolutions Committee for the county convention, to be held February 7, and the platform, when presented to the Democratic stalwarts on that occasion, was all that the most ardent modificationist could demand. It contained a rousing "wet" plank, quoting Calvin, Beecher, Lincoln, and Andrew Mellon on personal liberty and the impossibility of enforcing laws coercive of public opinion. Modification or repeal of the Volstead Act was specifically demanded.⁴ The entire Democratic slate, including candidates for the legislature, were in harmony with this doctrine, and were given a blanket

² *Journal, News*, January 15.

³ *Journal*, January 20.

⁴ For platform, see *Tribune*, February 8.

indorsement by the National Association Opposed to Prohibition.⁵

Much difficulty was encountered in finding a senatorial candidate. Former Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, Clarence Darrow, ex-Congressman Bruce Campbell, of East St. Louis, Justice Floyd Thompson, of the state Supreme Court, Frank Comerford, of Chicago, and Corporation Counsel Francis X. Busch were among those mentioned from time to time. Mr. Lewis' health did not permit him to make the race; objection was raised to Mr. Darrow's well-known religious views; Mr. Campbell and Judge Thompson were unable to sacrifice their personal interests. While others were being considered, many urged that the Democratic leader, Mr. Brennan, himself make the race, believing that sentiment downstate as well as in Chicago was so overwhelmingly "wet" that his election was more than a possibility.⁶ Mr. Brennan at first rejected the notion entirely. Later, after the opposition Democratic faction had proposed its primary slate, Mr. Brennan reconsidered his views, and openly announced his candidacy.⁷ His interpretation of the nature of the "wet" issue, as it appeared in his formal statement, is worth noticing.

⁵ *News*, April 12. A story went around that gentlemen by the names of "Beer" and "Wine" would be found and placed on the Democratic ticket. Reporters interviewed all bearing these names that could be found in the Chicago directory! The candidates chosen, in any case, so thoroughly personified "wetness" that they did not need the names! See *Tribune*, February 5.

⁶ *Tribune*, February 11.

⁷ *Journal*, March 11; all papers, March 2, 3.

All human experience proves the futility of attempting to regulate morals by statute. Volsteadism is but another example. Administration of this act has been in the hands of its friends, with all the resources of the federal government at their command. The results are failure and national scandal. The whole country rings with the evidence.

Volsteadism is destroying respect for all law and government. It is corrupting the lives of boys and girls alike. It is a cancer, to be cured in the only way a cancer can be cured; not by pills and plasters, but by cutting out the malignant growth before it eats away the vitals of its victim. The sensible, the honest thing to do is to modify or repeal this unenforceable statute and restore to the states their rights in this field of purely domestic legislation.⁸

In this statement, Mr. Brennan set the keynote for the appeal generally made by the modificationists. A change in liquor legislation was asked, not simply to bring back the saloon—that was disclaimed—but to "save the young."

In his senatorial campaign, during the period of the primary, Mr. Brennan continually urged that there was really only one issue of importance, nationally. In most matters, he intimated, he would find no difficulty in supporting the position of President Coolidge.⁹ It was of paramount importance, however, to allow the people to speak their thoughts on the liquor question, not only that an additional senator favoring modification might be elected, but also that national legislators "with dry throats and wet bellies" might learn that they need not fear to vote as they believe. This view was very frankly

⁸ *Herald and Examiner*, March 3.

⁹ *Tribune*, April 7, Arthur Sears Henning article.

and publicly presented. Following the precedent set in the foregoing quotation, Mr. Brennan carried his campaign into the very heart of enemy territory, urging his modificationist position before the Chicago Forum, League of Women Voters.¹⁰

On March 22 the County Board, by a 7-0 vote, condemned the Volstead act, and plans were announced for a delegation to be appointed by President Anton J. Cermak, leader of Chicago wets, to carry the views of Cook County Democrats to the Senate subcommittee just opening its hearing on the liquor issue. This projected junket was consummated, and on April 6, "Boss" Brennan, as head of the delegation, accompanied by Cermak, Martin J. O'Brien, and eight other leading Democrats, arrived in Washington. The expedition proved something of a fiasco, as the Cook County delegates were not allowed to give oral testimony before the committee, but Brennan declared himself perfectly satisfied with the "leave to print" accorded him—the introduction into the testimony of a document showing the increase of death from alcoholism, arrests for drunkenness, poverty, insanity, and crime generally since 1918 in Cook County.¹¹ The incongruity of this appeal to Washington on the part of those who had been foremost in condemning the Better Government Association for airing Chicago's "criminal politics" before the Senate did not, apparently,

¹⁰ Speaking before them on their invitation, along with other senatorial candidates, March 13. Quotation from the *Journal*, March 13.

¹¹ *Herald and Examiner, Journal*, March 23. All papers, April 7 and 8, 9. *Tribune* editorial, "George Had Leave to Print," April 10.

occur to Brennan and his friends, nor was it stressed by the newspapers, all but one of which favored modification more or less enthusiastically.¹²

The appearance of the Democratic "Boss" as a senatorial candidate naturally excited much interest, and there were many speculations as to the motives which had actuated him in deserting the rôle of the "silent dictator." An obvious explanation was that his presence at the head of the ticket was designed to assist in "putting across" his county ticket, first by making an exceptionally good showing against the O'Connell-Dunne-Harrison slate, and finally by making as great a gain as possible at the expense of divided Republicanism at the November polls. Many believed a more significant purpose lay behind his action. His candidacy was described as a trial flight for his friend Al Smith's 1928 campaign—a successful outcome in his "wet" race being viewed as likely to aid greatly the chances of the popular New Yorker. This Brennan denied, asking why he should hazard Smith's chances on a campaign so difficult as this. His own explanation was simply that it was a public duty for someone to make a test of prohibition sentiment, and that circumstances pointed to him as the one to perform that unpleasant chore. Others believed that like his predecessor in Illinois Democratic leadership, Roger Sullivan, he had fallen a victim to the "false glitter of public office," hoping perhaps to find a new thrill not yet experienced in the "great game of politics," perhaps to

¹² *Post*, editorial "Boss Brennan's Candidacy," March 8: "will take up the fight against him on the wet issue not without confidence."

add social prestige to the consciousness of power already fully realized.¹³

We have noted that two issues were included in the Democratic county platform: Home Rule and beer. The first of these had provoked disputes between the Brennan branch of Cook County democracy and the O'Connell-Dunne-Harrison group, each attempting to saddle the other with the onus of faithlessness to the principle. Since the "Democracy of Illinois" had come into existence as a formal organization as a protest against the monopolization of patronage by Brennan and his machine, it was equally to be expected that exception would be taken to his stand on "beer." In fact, some very sharp repartee took place on this topic. The public was presented with the treat of a dispute between the two groups as to which could claim the honor of being the more nearly "sopping wet." But the "wetness" of the Brennan organization was too well known to be disturbed by accusations based so largely on personal rancor.

Some real significance attached to the prohibition question in the contests for seats in the General Assembly and in Congress. As for Mr. Brennan's senatorial race, he was opposed by two other candidates for the nomination, former Congressman James T. McDermott, and James O. Monroe, who had been a candidate for the senatorial nomination in 1918. These candidates were insignificant, however, Mr. Brennan rolling up a vote

¹³ See editorials, March 4: *Tribune*, "Mr. Brennan as Candidate for Senator"; *News*, "Mr. Brennan Ogles the Toga"; also interview with Mr. Brennan by George P. Stone, *News*, March 11.

three times as great as that of both his opponents. There was no issue between them on the liquor question, in any case, Mr. McDermott's platform being, for example, "pure milk and pure liquor."¹⁴ Both Frank L. Smith and Senator McKinley were characterized as "satisfactory" to the dry interests. It was apparent that Mr. Brennan had raised the "wet" issue, not with reference to the primaries at all, but with November in view. It might be repeated at this point that this was true of the whole Democratic campaign. This was at once expressive of Mr. Brennan's dislike for the direct primary and a gesture indicative of contempt for any opposition that might arise within the party ranks. This latter attitude was fully justified by the results of the primary. None of the O'Connell-Dunne-Harrison county candidates made even a presentable figure in the returns.

Similar results appeared in the Democratic contests for the legislature. The Brennan machine completely controlled the situation and crushed candidates who had gained the disfavor of the regulars. A striking illustration was the case of Representative James J. O'Toole, in the Thirty-first District, who, though indorsed on his record by the Legislative Voters' League and the *Daily News*, was beaten 2-1 by Brennan's brother-in-law, Joseph L. Gill, who carried the organization support.¹⁵ The only breach in the solid front of organization victories was made by Representative Thomas J. O'Grady in the Fourth (stock yards) District, who thoroughly defeated the "City Hall machine." O'Grady was a strong modificationist.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Journal*, March 5. ¹⁵ *News*, April 10. ¹⁶ *American*, April 16.

With the Democratic ranks solidly anti-Volstead, it was only in the Republican primary that significance could be attached to wet or dry sentiments. Both the Association Opposed to Prohibition and the Anti-Saloon League attempted to analyze the records or promises of Republican legislative candidates and make recommendations. The latter organization abandoned its extreme position of previous years when its blacklist had included all legislators unwilling to support the bill establishing a state prohibition bureau.¹⁷ Its indorsements, however, did not include the members of the Cook County delegation who had offended in this particular.¹⁸ Few candidates, in fact, were completely satisfactory to the dry league, its indorsements including only the following: for senator, James E. MacMurray (Fifth), Donald H. McGilvray (Eleventh), G. A. Dahlberg (Thirteenth), Lowell B. Mason and William G. Thon (Twenty-third); for representative, Katherine H. Goode (Fifth), Ralph E. Church (Sixth), Howard P. Castle (Seventh), David I. Swanson (Eleventh), Ross Lee Laird (Eleventh), Theodore D. Smith (Thirteenth), Kent G. Early (Twenty-third), Fred J. Steuber (Twenty-third), and Rena Elrod (Twenty-fifth).¹⁹

Wet indorsements were equally scanty. Roy C. Woods was preferred to MacMurray and Harry J. Mapp

¹⁷ Statement attributed to George B. Safford, state superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, *Tribune*, February 2.

¹⁸ Representatives F. J. Bippus (Twenty-first), Charles E. Marinier (Nineteenth), Lewis Springer (Seventh), and George A. Williston (Thirty-first). *Herald and Examiner*, April 10.

¹⁹ *Herald and Examiner*, April 10. Downstate candidates are, of course, not considered here. See also *News*, April 9.

to McGilvray; Starr was indorsed to defeat Dahlberg and Piggott, and Lilly to defeat Mason and Thon. For the lower house Sidney Lyon and Mrs. Buchholz were classed as liberals and urged to defeat Mrs. Goode, a dry; Propper was the wet hope against Castle. In the Eleventh, Miller and Weeks were indorsed, in the Thirteenth Schnackenberg and Garriott. The remaining wet indorsements were for Overland and Mugler in the Twenty-third, and Paul and Baird in the Twenty-fifth.²⁰

It is impossible to say to what extent these differences of attitude on the liquor question affected the results of the primary. Six of the dry indorsees and ten of the wets were nominated. Seven of these winners were Crowe-Barrett entries; five owed allegiance to Small and four to Deneen. It is probable that these factional affiliations were much more significant than the wet or dry sentiments of the candidates.

In the congressional races a number of attempts were made to displace sitting members by appealing to wet sentiments, but the prestige of the incumbents was sufficient to carry them through in every case. Rathbone and Yates, who gained renomination as Republican candidates for Congressmen-at-Large, were both indorsed by the Anti-Saloon League. Half of the congressional districts in Cook County preferred wets, the other half

²⁰ *News*, April 12. The relation of these indorsements to factional affiliations is interesting. Eight of the fourteen dry indorsees were Deneen candidates, three Crowe-Barrett, three independent. Of the wet candidates, ten were Crowe-Barrett men, and one other (Lilly) was said to have some Crowe-Barrett support; Starr, Garriott, Overland, and Paul were Small indorsees, the former being credited also with Deneen support. For Mrs. Buchholz' views, see the *Tribune*, March 23.

drys. All of the Democratic nominees, including Congressmen Doyle, Sabath, and Kunz, were wets. There was no dissension on this question in the Democratic ranks, the intention being to make much of this issue in the general election. With that object in view, strong candidates were named to run against the dry Republicans in the Third, Sixth, Seventh, and Tenth districts.²¹

Summarizing the wet issue as a whole, we may say that it figured only to a minor extent in the nomination of candidates, but that it promised to bulk large between the Republicans and Democrats in the general election in November. This was particularly true in the senatorial and congressional races, and to a certain extent also in various legislative districts. As far as the county campaign was concerned, it furnished an interesting topic of conversation, but had no effect on the outcome of either the Republican or Democratic primaries.

²¹ These were Edward T. Glackin, James T. Igoe, John S. Hall, and William X. Meyer. Perhaps the most exciting congressional race was between two wets for the Republican nomination in the Ninth District. Congressman Fred Britten, described by the Association Opposed to Prohibition as "an experienced and zealous wet leader in Congress," was opposed by Mrs. Bertha Baur, a woman prominent in social, civic, and business affairs, gifted with personal charm and popularity. Mrs. Baur claimed that Britten had not opposed the Volstead Act when passed over the President's veto. Britten was able to win from the "rich society lady" who was "stealing his platform" and trying to "buy his seat," as he said, by a 5,000 plurality. Factional support was divided between the two candidates. For this contest see the *Tribune*, February 12, March 2, 19; *Herald and Examiner*, March 1, April 9, 11; *Journal*, March 11; *News*, March 16.

CHAPTER VIII

GROUP AND CLASS APPEALS IN THE PRIMARY

The issues thus far analyzed were addressed, in the main, to the entire electorate, representing the attempt of the factions to adjust their appeals to the psychology of men in the mass, to voters as human beings in the particular environment provided by Chicago and Cook County. Anyone capable of being stirred to political action might be expected to respond to the call of patriotism, to realize the place of parties in political life, to shrink from criminal influence in politics, and to have an opinion about prohibition or the proper attitude to be adopted toward Governor Small. The bitter rivalries of political groups, however, do not permit their leaders to stop at this point. Long before direct nominations were dreamed of, the increasing stratification of the population had taught the practical politician the necessity of recognizing the personal affiliations of his voting public. It was perhaps possible for the voter to be civic-minded, that is, to be aware of political problems as such and to perceive himself as a functioning unit in the social mechanism, as long as the problems of government were simple, the population homogeneous, and economic organization not highly specialized. Under modern conditions, particularly urban conditions, the individual becomes civic-minded in this sense only rarely, at great crises where maladjustment of the whole mechanism interferes with the functioning of his primary relationships and

compels him to take a larger view. The politician, no doubt, makes no effort to evolve a philosophical explanation of this phenomenon, but he has not been entirely at a loss for a remedy. A familiar device is that of the simulated crisis. Since voters can be stirred only by social convulsions, the campaigner becomes of necessity a calamity howler or a John the Baptist. Threats of evil are generally more potent than promises of well-being, hence negative issues are usually the most successful, and the voter is herded to the polls to save the nation from free silver, a league of nations, or a world court. The formula is not a complicated one. The weatherwise politician can usually scent coming storms, or, keeping his ear to the ground, hear the far-off rumbling of popular earthquakes. A few trial balloons will be thrown up; then, sure of his ground, the politician formulates his "issues." All that he needs to do is to phrase them simply, repeat them often, and exaggerate them into the semblance of a social crisis.

Even these tactics, however, may fail. The voter may be too comfortable in his own den to be lured out by the cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" Hence it is usually necessary to carry the battle cry to his own door, to rephrase it in terms with which he is familiar, to reinforce it by creating ties in themselves, perhaps, remote from or unconnected with the issues. Of course every issue is to a greater or less degree an appeal to special interests. Hence, as the first type of group appeals we may distinguish those designed to enlist the sympathy, loyalty, and support of a group by direct appeal to its peculiar interests. Such appeals must have at least in form a rational

basis. Next we may note those designed to attract the loyalty of a group by recognition of its existence and importance. Thus racial pride may be flattered or injured by the degree of favor accorded it by a given political group. Practically explained, this may amount to no more than this: racial solidarity, due to incomplete assimilation of a foreign racial group, gives political power to the leaders able to command the support of the group. The leaders must be propitiated. Thus a positive and a negative aspect appear in connection with such appeals. A certain group may be induced to affiliate itself with a certain party by special favors accorded it. Or, such affiliation being already established, sufficient recognition must be accorded from time to time to keep the group and its leaders loyal. A third form of such appeals, much resorted to by individual candidates, proceeds from the part to the whole. The approval of the whole group is sought by securing the indorsement of individuals or typical organizations. The reasoning behind such a procedure is that, "if one Greek indorses me, I must be acceptable to all Greeks," with the additional hope that the "illusion of victory" will be created, and that others outside the group will hasten to "get on the band-wagon."

All three of these types of group appeal were observed in the primary campaign here described. Issues were restated in terms of the interests of special groups, recognition was accorded to various interests in the makeup of the various slates, the indorsement of all types of organizations was sought by individual candidates and the groups backing them. For the purposes of

the primary, the factions within the parties took over the whole technique developed by party leaders long since, and employed in many a caucus, convention, and campaign. Among the different appeals observed we may note those to occupational groups, to ex-service men, to women, to racial groups, to religious groups, to fraternalism, and, finally, to localism. Other appeals were no doubt made; it would have been impossible for one observer to detect them all. All groups, however, recognized the value of these. This discussion which follows will attempt not to describe every use of these appeals, but to give numerous enough illustrations to indicate how they were used, their effectiveness, and their significance.

Appeals to occupational groups.—Among these we may distinguish those to farmers, to business men, and to labor. The first of these was hardly to be expected from the county factional groups, but in the senatorial race, the constituency of which included the entire state, it was of prime importance. Mr. Smith stated, at the beginning of the campaign, that farm relief and opposition to the World Court were his major issues. His success in presenting the latter largely obscured the importance of the agricultural issue but it recurred from time to time. The continued uneasiness of the farmers had been illustrated by the unfavorable reception accorded to President Coolidge's speech before the Farm Bureau Federation on December 7, and McKinley's almost complete reliance on the fact that he was a "regular" attached to him whatever resentment was felt. A few perfunctory gestures on McKinley's part—a questionnaire sent to

farmers asking for suggestions, a speech against the Gooding bill, the introduction of a few bills of his own and an expressed willingness to support any farm bill approved by Senate Committees—were merely ridiculed by Smith, who, unhampered by commitments in the Senate, was willing to “go the whole road” in promises to the farmer. He announced himself as favoring the export corporation idea and declared that it should be made the definite principle of the party to give the farmer the same protection given to manufacturing and industry through the protective tariff. He called attention to his close personal connection with the farm industry and capitalized his personality, in contrast with McKinley’s quiet, unspectacular nature, by declaring that the farmer needed an aggressive defender in Washington.¹

Whether from the effectiveness of Smith’s arguments or the weakness of McKinley’s position, the farm vote undoubtedly deserted the latter. In fact, the Democratic interpretation of the result of the election was not that the World Court issue had defeated McKinley, but that Coolidge’s administration had been rebuked for its failure to meet the agricultural problem. An analysis of the vote supports this view. In 1920, with a smaller total vote and a third candidate in the race, Smith carried Cook County by 69,478 votes. His 1926 majority was only 47,077. On the other hand, in 1920 McKinley carried twelve of sixteen representative agricultural coun-

¹ *Journal*, February 12; *Herald and Examiner*, February 17, March 4, 10, 13; Smith’s address at Chicago League of Women Voters’ Forum, *Post*, March 13. See also Smith’s campaign literature.

ties, getting a lead of 9,000 votes altogether; in 1926 Smith carried thirteen of these same counties, rolling up a majority of nearly 40,000. In 1920 McKinley defeated Smith down state by 89,629 votes; in 1926, Smith's down-state majority was 54,175. This gain of 143,804 votes in Illinois outside of Chicago must be ascribed to more than the transient unpopularity of the World Court. A plausible explanation of the welcome accorded to attacks on the Coolidge view on that issue is that it afforded a convenient outlet for resentment really due to the unrelieved agricultural depression. It is also noteworthy that the passing of the primary terminated the discussion of the World Court issue, save for fugitive mention in the Hearst press. Farm relief, however, bulked more largely each day; Mr. Smith himself declaring that he was chiefly occupied with the effort "to secure farm relief if possible before the end of the present session of Congress." These considerations give more than a color of plausibility to the assertion that "Senator McKinley's crushing defeat was a rebuke given by the farmer to Calvin Coolidge and his devout adherent."²

Without attempting further to reconcile the conflicting explanations of McKinley's defeat, let us note that the agricultural issue was a clear case of an appeal to group interest, and hence falls in the first of the three types mentioned. It was an appeal not devoid of emotional content, but was phrased as rationally as may reasonably be expected of a political issue.

Appeals to business were notable in the senatorial

² *Journal*, editorial, April 30.

campaign, but not lacking also in the county contest. This appeal, which was McKinley's best answer to the inroads made by his opponent in the farm and labor realms, is well illustrated by quotations from a letter sent out to "Republican Business Men and Women of Chicago" on April 8 over the signatures of Harry A. Wheeler, Rufus C. Dawes, and Lessing Rosenthal:

This letter appeals to you for your personal vote and your influence with friends in favor of the renomination of William B. McKinley. . . . McKinley has a long and absolutely clean record in public life. He is essentially a business man with the business man's viewpoint. His service in the Senate has been characterized by the same industry and intelligence which distinguished him in the management of large affairs and gave him the means which has enabled him to dedicate himself to the public service with entire independence of any consideration except good faith.

All three forms of the group appeal are here involved: the special interests of business men are invoked, Mr. McKinley is depicted as a representative of the business group, and the indorsements of individual business leaders are employed to secure the support of the whole group.

In the county campaign, where genuine issues were scarcely discernible, the phrasing of such issues in terms of group interest was naturally lacking. Efforts were made, however, to appeal to the business group by including representatives of the business type on the slates. In the early stages of Deneen slate-making, several candidates for sanitary trustees were rejected, on the ground that in view of the charges of corruption to be made against the existing board, it would be more suitable to choose candidates known for their business ability rath-

er than for political availability. This excellent principle was not lived up to, though in Aldermen Guernsey and Albert a high type of politician was found. On the De-neen slate we find five real estate men, Patrick, Elmore, Novak, Graham, and Haeger; a manufacturer, Charles H. Rosberg; an insurance man, William C. Thorsen. Only one of these had ever held office. A number of others, primarily business men, who had previously held office, include Senator MacMurray, a wealthy steel manufacturer, and Thomas A. Boyer, a dealer in packing-house by-products. Business men with no political experience were absent from the Crowe-Barrett slate, but we may take note of Charles E. Graydon, president of two ice companies, Charles L. Gerds, in the automobile business, J. W. Jaranowski, banking, coal, and contracting business, and C. E. Guyton, manufacturer. There is no evidence that these men were selected purely on account of their business connections. Perhaps the best illustration of such a choice was the naming on the regular Democratic slate of George Hull Porter, an executive of the Western Electric Company, for sanitary trustee. Mr. Porter's impressive list of connections will be noted later.

Besides recognition of business interests on the slates, we observe almost frantic efforts of candidates to secure indorsements by business groups and leaders of the business and professional world. A large part of the personal campaign of Charles V. Barrett for renomination as member of the Board of Review was devoted to securing indorsements. In his campaign speeches he declared that after having been twice elected to the office

it was too late to make promises, he could only depend upon what others said of his record. Hence he resorted to the quotation of various commendations accorded him.³ His full-page advertisement, appearing in all the papers of April 12, consisted of such quotations from twelve lawyers and judges, three bankers, two clergymen, a president of a transfer company, a labor leader, a printer, a manufacturer, and a contractor. Many candidates organized clubs of lawyers to aid in their campaign. These included Sbarbaro, Crowe-Barrett candidate for municipal judge, Scherwat, Deneen candidate for county clerk, Laubenheimer, Deneen candidate for clerk of the probate court, who enrolled 500 lawyers, and Savage, Crowe-Barrett candidate for county judge, who claimed 1,485 lawyers' indorsements. This list could be extended indefinitely, the "political notes" in the newspapers being full of such items, and the candidates apparently engaged in a race to see which one could accumulate the largest number of indorsements. Many of these were of no importance; they illustrate, as a whole, however, the recognition of the business group as one to which an appeal should be made, and the effort to secure the support of the whole group by securing the indorsement of sections of it.

An extremely sharp contest for the labor vote developed in the senatorial campaign. Mr. Smith started with an advantage in this respect, organized labor being generally unfavorable to the senior senator. The reasons for this attitude were stated by President John H. Walker of the Illinois Federation of Labor. McKinley, he said,

³ Speech, April 5.

had done nothing to expose and punish the wrongdoing of Attorney General Daugherty; he was one of the influences which helped bring about the appointment of Federal District Judge Wilkerson, of railway labor injunction fame; he had done nothing to prevent the deflation of the farmer. While representing the Illinois traction interests he had refused to recognize the principle of collective bargaining, and on one occasion repudiated an agreement with his workers. Finally, he is supported by the same people who opposed labor's anti-injunction bill in the legislature.⁴ Smith, on the other hand, was indorsed by the Illinois Joint Labor Legislative Board, a body made up of representatives of the state federation, the United Mine Workers, the railroad brotherhoods, and other labor organizations. In its *Weekly News Letter* of March 18 it pointed out that during his one term in Congress Smith always voted on the side of labor. On the injunction bill, Smith used his influence and personality to aid labor's cause. On the other hand, "if in all his political and private life McKinley has ever displayed friendliness to the workers of America it has been carefully concealed. All his associates and associations are unhelpful to labor."⁵ Under these circumstances, it was unnecessary for Smith actively to court labor's favor. He received many labor indorsements in addition to those mentioned, including such action on the part of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen,⁶ Conference for Progressive Political Action,⁷ The President and Secre-

⁴ *American*, February 13.

⁵ *Herald and Examiner*, March 19.

⁶ *Tribune*, March 11.

⁷ *Journal*, March 19.

tary of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths,⁸ and the Railway Employees Non-Partisan League.⁹ An issue of *Labor*, the Washington organ of the Rail Labor organizations, was widely circulated in Chicago. This featured a pro-labor statement by Smith, and contained articles attacking a whole series of anti-labor votes by McKinley, including those for Newberry, for the Esch-Cummins Bill, for the confirmation of Charles B. Warren as attorney-general, and against adjusted compensation.¹⁰

McKinley made strenuous efforts to counteract these charges. Smith's record as chairman of the state commerce commission was selected as the most vulnerable point, though Smith himself capitalized his services in his advertisements, claiming to have saved the people millions through the fare reductions he had ordered. It was claimed, however, that Smith was in collusion with Samuel Insull, the traction magnate, and that the traction interests were financing Smith's campaign. The first charge was denied by both Smith and Insull; the latter Smith repelled by the retort that if after all the money the traction lines had lost through the orders of the Commerce Commission they contributed to his campaign, he could hardly refuse it.¹¹ Toward the end of the campaign a speech by Senator McKellar was circulated by frank through the mails attacking Smith's record—a "trick" denounced by Smith, both because the speech contained "falsehoods" and because of the "abuse of

⁸ *Tribune*, March 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 8.

¹⁰ *Labor*, April 3.

¹¹ *News*, March 3; *Post*, March 4.

the franking privilege."¹² Meantime the senator and his agents were wooing the labor interests and by April their efforts were rewarded. The Chicago Street Car Men's Union publicly repudiated Smith in a resolution declaring that in the street-car fare hearings in Chicago in 1921 and 1922 he had "assisted in every way the political representatives that were demanding a reduction of street-car fares by reducing the wages of the employees, increasing their hours of labor, and demoralizing the conditions they had established through their union after a struggle of many years."¹³ Other personal and group indorsements were sought by McKinley and some of his advertisements were aimed directly at a labor

¹² These charges against Smith were fully aired before the Reed committee. It was shown that Smith had received campaign contributions of \$125,000 from Insull, besides \$33,735.19 spent by the latter in propaganda against the World Court—which of course aided Smith. This was not the only utility money received by Smith. Ira C. Copley, president of the Western United Gas and Electric Company, gave \$25,000, and Clement Studebaker, Jr., president of the Illinois Power and Light Corporation (the former McKinley interests), contributed \$20,000. The ethics of the receipt of these gifts by Smith for his campaign while he remained head of the Illinois Commerce Commission was much questioned, and this was held by many (e.g., the *Daily News*, August 6) to be the most significant revelation of the senatorial investigation. It was not shown that Smith "sandbagged" the utility men into making these gifts, but it was suggested as pertinent that these men should explain what they expected to gain by the gifts. These revelations of course came after the primary, but they were held by the Democrats to have thoroughly discredited Smith and increased Democratic chances. Smith had no new defense, other than the one uttered during the campaign that his commission had "cost Insull's utilities millions" and that presumably it was proper to accept the latter's money; furthermore no obligations were assumed for the contributions made. See newspapers, *passim*, July 27 to August 7.

¹³ *News*, April 8. Incorporated in three column advertisement in *American, Journal, and News*, April 10.

audience.¹⁴ The effect of all these charges and counter-charges can only be a matter of speculation. Smith carried almost all of the distinctively working-class wards, but his reduced majority in the county may indicate that McKinley's vigorous reply to this campaign appeal had some effect.

In the county campaign some unique features developed. The Cook County Wage Earners' League was perhaps the most interesting politico-labor group. The Crowe-Barrett leaders made early announcements that they were making a distinct drive for the labor vote, and that labor massmeetings would be held. Owing to indictments of labor leaders pressed by Mr. Crowe in the past, coolness had developed between them and the prosecutor, though when affiliated with Thompson he had shared in the favor of this group. The appearance of this new organization was hailed as a proof of a reconciliation. It was headed by M. J. Kelly, of the Meat Cutters' Union, president; C. F. Wills, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, secretary; and William Quesse, of the Flat Janitors' Union, and Patrick Sullivan, of the Building Trades Council, as prominent supporters. Its indorsements, announced on March 17, included the entire Crowe-Barrett county slate, though only half of the Crowe judicial candidates were approved, the other six indorsements going to Deneen men. The regular Democratic organization also gained the support of this group.¹⁵ These indorsements aroused some surprise in

¹⁴ *Post*, April 1, *News*, April 8, *Tribune*, April 8, 10, *American*, April 13. Advertisements in four of the April 12 papers.

¹⁵ *News*, March 17.

view of the fact that both Crowe and Barrett had not long before been denounced by these very men as the wickedest foes of organized labor and that Quesse had escaped prison on a conviction obtained by Crowe only through a pardon obtained from Small. Secretary Wills explained, however:

We have decided to let bygones be bygones. The Crowe-Barrett men said that they were friendly to organized labor and will give us a square deal. That is all we ask and we are going to do our best to nominate their candidates. . . . This is the first time a local organization has set up elaborate machinery to carry out the non-partisan principles of the American Federation of Labor. We have opened a permanent office, and we propose to function in the interest of organized labor in all subsequent campaigns. We are mailing out 200,000 marked ballots today. We furnish our precinct workers with badges, pictures and literature. We mean business.¹⁶

The League was said to include most of the unions in the city in its membership, but could scarcely be regarded as more than a paper organization, at least pending actual demonstration of its power to deliver the "labor vote." It is most significant as an indication of the intention of the county prosecutor's organization to court the favor of labor, or at least labor leaders. The League held a number of rallies during the course of the campaign, being addressed by Brennan Democratic candidates and by such Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson leaders as Barrett, Thompson, Savage, Sbarbaro, and McMillan.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 31.

¹⁷ *American*, April 3; *Herald and Examiner*, April 9. Joseph Esposito, Deneen candidate for county commissioner, managed to gain the League's indorsement (*Herald and Examiner*, March 31).

Some recognition was given to labor on the rival slates. Among the Deneen candidates for municipal judge we find Sylvester J. Konenkamp, formerly president of the International Union of Commercial Telegraphers, for whom labor supporters planned a special campaign.¹⁸ The slating for sheriff on the Crowe-Barrett ticket of George B. Arnold, state director of labor, long an employee of the Chicago Elevated Railroad, was no doubt a move to gain Small's following in the ranks of labor. Men who, like Charles J. Peters, were born in a log cabin, or who, like Savage, Haffa, Albert, and others, rose from the ranks of labor, duly emphasized those facts for the benefit of labor voters. Finally, there was the usual battle for indorsements.

Among the labor indorsements may be classed those of the organizations of teachers. Two such made formal announcements: the Chicago Principals' Club, which took a stand on certain candidates for the legislature based on their attitude toward legislation on teachers' interests. Still more important were the indorsements of the Chicago Teachers' Federation announced by Margaret Haley, business agent of the federation, through her *Bulletin*. Two matters of importance to teachers were stressed. The first was the necessity of securing honest elections. To insure this, the nomination of Judge Jarecki and of Judge Trude on the Democratic and Republican tickets respectively was urged. More specifically beneficial to teachers was the matter of securing honest assessments. The Federation had recently conducted an agitation looking to the increasing of school

¹⁸ *Tribune*, March 19.

revenue through the assessment of property now escaping taxation. The existing régime, including Mr. Barrett and the Board of Assessors, controlled by the same interests, was condemned and the nomination of Deneen Republicans and O'Connell Democrats for these posts was urged.¹⁹

We see, in conclusion, that all candidates and factions recognized the labor group as one which must be propitiated through appeal to its specific interests, where such an appeal could be made, through recognition in the makeup of the slates, and through attempts to establish personal connections with labor units, through indorsements and other special appeals. The positive effect of such campaigning may be questioned—McKinley's managers were reported to have said that Smith's "labor support" did not matter, as there was not any such thing as a "labor vote"; but as a safeguard against "knifing" by class conscious voters, these efforts were regarded as good investments.

Appeals to racial or national groups.—The cosmopolitan character of Chicago had long given significance to this type of appeal.²⁰ In the days before the direct primary no party slate was considered a good one unless

¹⁹ *News, Post*, April 3.

²⁰ Some significant figures from the census are here cited.

Population of Chicago (1920)	2,701,705
Native white	1,783,687
Foreign-born white	805,842
Native white, native parentage	642,871
Native white, foreign parentage	888,496
Native white, mixed parentage	252,320
Negro	109,458
Naturalized foreign white	407,195

[Note continued on page 185]

it was properly balanced by recognition of racial factors. In taking over the characteristics of genuine party organizations for the purposes of the primary, the party factions attempted to follow this well-recognized rule, and placed on their slates representatives of the leading racial groups.²¹ In addition to this recognition on the

Percentages of foreign white stock by mother-tongue (including foreign-born, native of foreign parentage, and native of mixed parentage), total.....1,946,928

Percentage		Percentage	
German	22.2	Norwegian	2.3
English and Celtic	18.4	Lithuanian and Lettish	2.3
Polish	16.4	Russian	1.4
Yiddish and Hebrew	8.2	Slovak	1.3
Italian	6.4	Dutch	1.1
Swedish	6.2	Magyar	1.0
Czech	5.5	Greek	.8

Percentage of foreign-born whites twenty-one years of age naturalized :

Percentage		Percentage	
Germany	79.1	Czecho-Slovakia	57.0
Ireland	74.8	Hungary	35.7
Sweden	70.6	Italy	35.2
Norway	70.4	Poland	34.5
England	69.5	Greece	25.8

²¹ Inspection of the county slates reveals the following racial distributions (subject to revision—the racial affiliation of second generation nationals not being easily distinguishable) :

	Crowe-Barrett	Deneen	Brennan	O'Connell-Dunne
American.....	17	23	2	8
Irish.....	4	3	25	8
German.....	10	9	5	3
Polish.....	2	1	3	2
Italian.....	1	1	1	0
Jewish.....	6	1	4	3
Bohemian.....	2	1	2	1
Swedish.....	1	1	0	1
Norwegian.....	0	2	0	0
Negro.....	1	1	0	0

This analysis does not tell the whole story, of course, as legislative nominees should be considered, as well as the army of appointed officers

county slates themselves, it was observed that candidates for the legislature usually reflected the racial composition of the various districts.

A number of "racial issues" appeared during the campaign. The first of these concerned the proposed deportation of aliens as a cure for the crime wave. Italians, and particularly Sicilians, were alleged to be the worst offenders and hence the most suitable subjects for deportation. This gave an opportunity to both Crowe and Deneen leaders to "defend the Italian-American citizenship" of Chicago.²² In the drive for the negro vote both senatorial candidates attempted to make something of the anti-lynching bill in Congress, McKinley claiming credit for reintroducing it, Smith asserting that McKinley had done little to help it along. It was also urged that McKinley had favored discrimination against the colored race in his administration of the McKinley traction interests; Smith's policy as commerce commissioner was similarly attacked. Both denied these charges.²³ Considerable capital was made by the anti-Deneen forces of the fact that the portrait of Rev. W. H. Braddan, the only colored candidate on the Deneen slate, was omitted from the Deneen campaign pamphlet. Efforts were made by the McKinley forces, not without effect, to

and employees controlled by one or another of the groups. It demonstrates, however, the notion of the "balanced slate." Note also the Irish domination of the Democratic ticket, and the large recognition conceded to the German group.

²² *Herald and Examiner*, March 2. Bernard W. Snow was the spokesman for the Crowe-Barrett element.

²³ Heard at various campaign meetings.

secure negro support based on pro-World Court sentiment.²⁴ Most of the racial appeals, however, were based, not on "issues," but on recognition, indorsements, and other efforts to gain the personal favor of racial units or leaders.

The McKinley managers flattered the negro voters by featuring their most distinguished speakers at negro meetings. These included Senator Pepper, Senator Lenroot, and Mrs. McCormick. Walter L. Cohen, negro comptroller of the port of New Orleans, was brought to Chicago to work for McKinley in the colored wards.²⁵ The Crowe-Barrett drive for the negro vote was based upon recognition accorded through the inclusion of Edward H. Wright in the Crowe-Barrett slate-making committee, upon the recognized power of George F. Harding as "boss" of the negro wards, and the personal popularity of William Hale Thompson among the negroes. The Deneen forces built upon a certain insurgent movement against these leaders evidenced in the candidacy of a negro banker, P. W. Chavers, for Congress against Martin B. Madden, and in the formation of such organizations as the "Douglass Progressive Republican League," and the "Chicago Boosters' Club."²⁶ The Election Board likewise accepted the recommendations of the Deneen ward committeeman for election officials in the Second Ward, which was counted on to assure a fair vote in sec-

²⁴ Cf. Olivet Baptist Church meeting. *Tribune, Herald and Examiner*, March 16.

²⁵ *Tribune*, March 15, 29; *Post*, April 8. There was also talk of McKinley securing an important federal appointment for a negro.

²⁶ *Journal*, political notes, March 23; cf. *Journal*, February 1.

tions often "delivered" in the past.²⁷ The Crowe-Barrett slate, like that of their opponents, carried one negro candidate for county commissioner, while both groups supported colored candidates for the legislature in the First and Third districts. Active campaigning was the rule in the colored wards; the Deneen leaders took advantage of the exposure of Mr. Harding's tax-dodging activities to circulate thousands of copies of *City Hall Gossip* containing the charges made against him.²⁸

The Scandinavian vote was cited as being the objective for active campaigning on the part of the Crowe-Barrett group, the object being to dislodge the hold which Fred Lundin was supposed to have on his compatriots. The bringing of Senator Shipstead to Chicago was regarded as a master-move in this direction. County Commissioner Charles S. Peterson was made chairman of this meeting, and other efforts were made to give it a distinctly Scandinavian flavor. McKinley met this attempt to line up this group against him by securing the indorsement of the Dovre Club, a leading Norwegian organization,²⁹ and by presenting one of his leading visiting aids, Secretary Hoover, before the John Ericsson Republican League at a banquet at which both Senators Deneen and McKinley were indorsed.³⁰

A similar contest for the Greek vote was evidenced. It was announced that Senator Lenroot would speak for McKinley before the Greek American Republican Club of Cook County. This meeting was promoted by Attor-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 20; *Post*, March 25.

²⁸ See next chapter.

²⁹ *Journal*, January 23.

³⁰ *Post*, March 10; *Tribune*, March 29.

ney Paul Demos, president of the club, and by Peter S. Lambros, editor of the *Greek Star*, who declared that the Greek vote in Illinois, upwards of 50,000, would go solidly for McKinley.³¹ Smith's counter to this was an indorsement by the executive committee of the Greek Republican League, said to have 20,000 members in Cook County.³²

Some of the foreign-language organizations announced full or partial indorsements; in default of these the candidates themselves sought as eagerly for approval of their candidacies by these groups as they had for business and labor indorsements. An illustrative list will be appended below.³³ We may say, in conclusion, that while the foreign vote was eagerly courted, there is no evidence that these efforts were particularly conclusive. Smith and Crowe-Barrett carried the negro wards, but this, after all, was to be expected. The opposition made heavy inroads: McKinley carried the Fourth Ward, and in the Second and Third neither he nor Trude, the Deneen headliner, lost by a wide margin. The West Side wards went heavily to Crowe-Barrett, Deneen strength manifesting itself in the farther South Side, the Gold Coast, the middle and far northwest. If, as this would indicate,

³¹ *News*, March 25.

³² *Tribune*, March 20.

³³ Dovre Club (Norwegian): 12 Deneen, 14 Crowe-Barrett candidates; Nordkap, Norwegian Club: Smith; Italian-American Labor Club: 9 Deneen, 2 Crowe-Barrett candidates; Fiume National League: McKinley; German Club of Chicago: Scherwat, Juul; German American Citizens' League: Boutell, Esposito; Hungarian Club of Chicago: McKinley; Slavic Union Alliance of America: Eller; Azukas Lithuanian Political Club: Eller; Chicago Turngemeinde: Juul; Jewish Civic League of Northwest Side: Golan, Orlikowski.

the bulk of the foreign vote went to Crowe-Barrett (and *a fortiori* to Smith), it is reasonable to suppose that this was largely due to the factional alignments of the organization leaders of these localities. To illustrate, Mr. Crowe's family connections with the Italians³⁴ and Mr. Deneen's traditional hold on the Scandinavian group were no doubt more significant factors than any number of club indorsements. In any case, the possibility of "delivering" the vote of any racial group is extremely remote. The largest and at the same time the best assimilated racial group, the Germans, were well divided among the groups, having representative leaders among all the factions. The Poles may be counted on to be largely Democratic, largely on religious grounds. The Irish, midway in numerical strength between these two, find an unusually large representation among the Republican leaders, but remain largely Democratic. Perhaps the Scandinavian group, tending to be Republican, and the negro group, almost solidly so, offer the most fruitful ground for the Republican factional campaigners. Even here, however, personal leadership and organization work may be considered more effective than racial appeals, though racial recognition is essential as a safeguard.³⁵

³⁴ His wife is a Cuneo.

³⁵ Some of the testimony before the Reed committee threw light on activities among colored and foreign voters. Mr. Insull's expenditures included \$26,904 "on a campaign against the world's court [*sic*] among the foreign language groups, and in addition to that I spent \$2,330.85 in connection with newspaper advertising in the foreign language newspapers" (*News*, July 27). Andrew Russel, McKinley's campaign manager, testified that he spent \$3,000 in the Second, Third, and Fourth

Appeals to women.—Women were recognized as having an important rôle in the campaign, partly because of the recognition of the separate interests of women as a group, partly because of the desire of women to participate directly in politics, partly through the admitted necessity of according them recognition in various ways in order to enlist their loyalty and avert their hostility. In the senatorial campaign it was not forgotten that it was the women's vote, counted and reported last, that had transformed a supposed Smith victory into a success for McKinley in their 1920 contest. McKinley was still supposed to "have the edge" with the women's vote. His moral appeal was weightier than that which might be mustered by Smith. His characterization as "the Presbyterian minister's son"—frequently repeated—was in harmony with much of his record. The long list of his benefactions to colleges and charitable institutions, his acceptability to the church vote, were counted on to aid him with the women. Moreover the World Court was regarded as a "women's issue," it being presented as a step in the direction of peace—a cause dear

wards among colored voters, and \$1,000 or perhaps \$2,000 for advertising in foreign-language newspapers (*Tribune*, July 29). A story was told circumstantially by Timothy P. McCarthy, an East St. Louis reporter, of a payment of \$6,000 to a Hungarian named Scendry to secure for Smith the indorsement of the Foreign Voters' League, an organization of Croatians, Lithuanians, Poles, Bohemians, and other nationalities. The matter was discussed at a meeting of Smith supporters and later Scendry exhibited \$2,800 in cash and said that the League had come out for Smith. Smith's manager, Allen F. Moore, denied any knowledge of such negotiations (*Tribune*, July 30).

to the hearts of most women.⁸⁶ The McKinley forces did not fail to cultivate this promising field.

Colonel Smith did not admit without contest McKinley's monopoly of the women's vote. A women's branch of the Smith managing committee was organized, with branches in some of the wards, which maneuvered in much the same way as the McKinley committee.⁸⁷ In his speeches against the World Court, Mr. Smith made the claim that women were opposed to it, though his reasoning was not particularly convincing.⁸⁸ Toward the end of the campaign an effort was made to discredit the McKinley campaign by claims that certain speakers sent out to address women's clubs on the World Court were "noted pacifist propagandists."⁸⁹

The employment of the World Court issue in the local campaign made it inevitable that women's interests would be invoked in that connection. The policy of the Deneen group, pursued until April 1, of ignoring the Court issue and remaining aloof from the senatorial campaign, prevented any affirmative appeal being made to the women as World Court supporters. The Crowe-Barrett group were not thus handicapped. The phrasing of the anti-Court appeal most effective so far as the women were concerned was that which branded the Court as an instrument of war, and its defeat as a means of "keeping our boys out of European battle fields." This sentiment, as used by Mr. Crowe and others, was

⁸⁶ *Post*, February 10.

⁸⁷ *Tribune*, March 16, 21, 30.

⁸⁸ Cf. citation in chap. iii (World Court issue).

⁸⁹ *Herald and Examiner, Tribune*, April 4.

quite successful in arousing the enthusiastic assent of women auditors.⁴⁰

The active interest of women in participation in politics was manifested in the activities of such organizations as the Illinois League of Women Voters, the Women's Roosevelt Republican Club, and the Woman's City Club. These may perhaps be best viewed as civic organizations, and considered later. More direct participation is seen in the candidacies of women for office, and the share taken by them in party organization work. Eleven women were candidates for legislative seats in the state, four of these in Cook County. Only two of these stood a chance to be nominated, the two sitting representatives, Mrs. Goode and Mrs. Elrod, each having a woman opponent. Mrs. Goode, in the Fifth District, received Deneen support; Mrs. Elrod in the Twenty-fifth District was backed by Crowe-Barrett. A third Republican candidate was Mrs. Baur, whose race for Congress in the Ninth Congressional District has already been referred to. These represent the only recognition accorded women on the Republican factional slates, and only one of these, Mrs. Elrod, may be regarded as a genuine partisan of the faction supporting her.⁴¹ Mrs. Baur ran under the Home-Rule banner, but received some Deneen support, while in part of her district Crowe-Barrett strength was reported to have been turned to Britten. Mrs. Goode's candidacy was of independent origin; her nomination and election in 1924 was largely if not entirely due to the devoted campaigning of

⁴⁰ Observed in speeches at Cort, Selwyn, Olympic Theaters.

⁴¹ Though in 1924 she had been elected with independent support.

her own organization. Virtually the same group supported her in 1926, her campaign committee being headed by Mrs. Henry W. Cheney, first vice-president of the Illinois League of Women Voters, and aided by other civic-minded women. In this campaign, as in 1924, she was gladly claimed by the Deneen group, because of her unusual ability and record. This resulted, however, in her receiving the Small indorsement as well. Building upon this, the Crowe-Barrett faction entered another woman candidate, Mrs. Laura M. Buchholz, Lindblom High School history teacher, who emphasized Lundin-Smallism as her chief issue, besides denouncing "paid reformers" and advocating modification of the Volstead Act. Mrs. Buchholz did not run well, while Mrs. Goode led the ticket. The fourth woman candidate for the legislature, Mrs. Christiansen, was not a serious contender. Mrs. Elrod was renominated.⁴²

On the whole, less recognition was given women by the Republicans in this primary than had been the case four years previously, when three women had received the Republican nomination for county commissioner.⁴³ This might be taken as indicating that women are ranked low among the groups who must be propitiated, and hence tend to be neglected when the lines are sharply

⁴² *News*, March 16, April 2; *American*, April 7. For Mrs. Buchholz' position, see the *American*, March 17. Mrs. Baur also had a women's campaign committee (*Post*, April 1). It should be noted that both factions agreed on Miss Minnie Whitham of Oak Park as candidate for county superintendent of schools.

⁴³ Though many women believed their candidates were "scratched" by the factional leaders.

drawn, as in such a hotly contested primary as this. This does not, of course, mean that other efforts to line up the women were neglected. Both the Crowe-Barrett and the Deneen organizations had woman's organizations, the former headed by Mrs. Leonard Brundage, the latter by Mrs. Myrtle Tanner Blacklidge, candidate for county commissioner in 1922. These worked in harmony with the women's auxiliaries of the ward clubs of each group, and also arranged demonstrations of their own.

One woman was slated by the Brennan Democrats: Mrs. E. W. Bemis, who had been elected county commissioner in 1922. The Democracy of Illinois also included one woman, Mary McEnernay, who had previously been a candidate for county commissioner in 1922, though not nominated. The usual women's auxiliaries were found on the Democratic side.⁴⁴

The leading women's civic organizations refused to make indorsements, except the Woman's Roosevelt Republican Club, which indorsed McKinley alone. A strenuous effort was made to secure the indorsement by this organization of Mrs. Baur's candidacy, Mrs. Baur being one of its prominent members. She, moreover, was claiming the support on the ground of her sex, one of her display posters reading: "Let Us Be Represented!" Her stand on the Volstead Act met with much disapproval, and it was decided not to open the way for further indorsements.⁴⁵ The political notes of the campaign do not reveal an active campaign by candidates for the approv-

⁴⁴ E.g., the Illinois Democratic Woman's Club; cf. *Journal*, April 6.

⁴⁵ *News*, March 16.

al of women's organizations, though some such were reported.⁴⁶

We may conclude, on the basis of observation of this campaign, that the part played by women was much smaller than might have been anticipated. Two types of woman politicians may be distinguished. Those who fully identified themselves with the activities of one of the party factions contributed little in a moral or civic sense to the campaign. They functioned merely as liaison agencies between their sex and their factional column. In the second place we observe the civic-minded women who view the political scene on a high plane, but do not function immediately in connection with any political group. Women and women's organizations of this type tend to be assimilated to and to reinforce existing civic agencies not restricted to women. That is, they make no distinct contribution from women as such, except in so far as they focus the enlightened influence of members of their sex. The happy combination of these two types—the woman of high civic ideals with practical political ability—is fortunately not lacking (Mrs. Goode is a brilliant example), but the scarcity of this type largely explains the political impotence of women in campaigns such as the one we are describing. Powerful political forces always win immediate recognition from the political wire-pullers. If little attention is paid to the “woman vote” and women's influence in politics,

⁴⁶ E.g., indorsements of Charles V. Barrett, *Post*, March 29. Park Ridge Woman's Club indorses Deneen candidates, *News*, April 6. Note also the importance attached to Mrs. McCormick's indorsement of McKinley and of Charles V. Barrett.

it is simply because the latter has not yet found a way to make itself effective.

Appeals to ex-service men.—With such a large body of voters falling within this category, it is not surprising that all groups made appeals for their support. The Legion itself had adopted a stand of political neutrality, which was reaffirmed for Illinois by the commanders and adjutants of nearly a hundred posts in a meeting at Aurora. The Legion convention next preceding this campaign had gone on record in favor of the World Court, but even this decision seemed likely to be questioned by the opponents of that body, a famous controversy concerning the League of Nations being duplicated in the claim that not “the” World Court, but “a” world court had been indorsed.⁴⁷ Such technicalities, however, were not raised in the Cook County campaign, as ex-soldiers opposed to the Court found ample avenues for expressing their views without acting through the posts of the Legion.

As in other issues we have considered, McKinley was a storm center where the ex-service man was concerned. Smith hoped to prove him the soldier's foe by pointing at his vote against adjusted compensation, while McKinley urged his solicitude for the interests of the disabled and injured. A petition signed by 198 out of 207 inmates of Edward Hines Hospital at Maywood was brought forth to show that McKinley was acceptable to soldiers of this group. Smith's managers disputed the authenticity of the petition but it was verified and re-

⁴⁷ *Herald and Examiner*, February 10.

sued by McKinley headquarters.⁴⁸ Edward Hines, who had contributed \$2,000,000 to this particular hospital, and had otherwise devoted himself to the cause of the disabled veteran, praised McKinley's record highly, and urged his renomination.⁴⁹

Smith, of course, attempted to make the Court question a patriotic issue, and the same tactics were followed by the Crowe-Barrett factionalists. This latter group made extraordinary efforts to line up the ex-soldiers. An ex-service men's campaign organization was created, under the management of Wayland (Curley) Brooks, who resigned as commander of Marine Post 273 of the Legion to accept this position.⁵⁰

The Deneen slate contained at least as many ex-service men as that of the opposition, but the leading Deneen issues did not easily harmonize with a distinctive appeal to ex-soldiers.⁵¹ Deneen candidates, like those of the opposition, sought the indorsement of soldiers' organizations, of which a veritable legion appeared during the campaign.⁵² These were fairly well divided between the two Republican groups, which were chiefly

⁴⁸ *News*, March 4; *Tribune*, *Herald and Examiner*, March 22.

⁴⁹ *News*, March 16.

⁵⁰ *Tribune*, February 20.

⁵¹ William C. Scherwat, Chester S. Patrick, William S. Braddan, Elbert E. Elmore, Lachlan William MacLean, Herman N. Mendelsohn, George B. Holmes. Besides the county candidates, six Deneen legislative candidates were ex-service men, as opposed to two Crowe-Barrett indorsees. See list made up by service men's campaign committee (Jacob L. Tenney, John V. Clinnin, James E. Stuart, Barratt O'Hara, Walter W. Weiss) in the *News*, April 12.

⁵² United Republican War Veterans League. This indorsed Crowe-Barrett candidates almost exclusively; it had, in fact, the appearance of having been created for that purpose. Cf. the *American*, February 17,

concerned with this issue. Democrats were also indorsed, without visibly affecting the fortunes of the candidates concerned. How far the Republican race was affected is merely a matter for speculation. Yet one would not be far wrong in surmising that the patriotic "hurrah and hallelujah" witnessed in this campaign, including the apotheosis of the ex-fighting man, was designed much more for the impressionable general public than for the doughboy or gob. Of course the latter appreciated the recognition accorded his comrades, but this in itself gave no justification for supporting one slate in preference to the other.⁵³ Again, a record of faithful service may have been counted on as an evidence of qualification for office. Yet this did not help Scherwat, who had an excellent record and an impressive list of indorsements, while Savage, with a record that was certainly no better, "went over big." Clearly ex-service indorsements were in no sense decisive. Probably the real

23; *Tribune*, March 31; *Post*, April 1. Ex-service Men's Republican League indorsed a split slate and held a pre-primary ball addressed by candidates (*Post*, April 1, 3, 9). Air Service Officers' Association indorsed Peterson for representative, Twenty-fifth District (*Tribune*, March 31). Third Division Association, Chicago Chapter, for Maxwell for assessor (*Tribune*, April 2). Solo Club for Scherwat (*American*, March 29). Illinois Republican Veterans for McKinley (*Post*, April 2). War Veterans' Alliance of America refuses to make indorsements (*Post*, April 1, etc.)

⁵³ W. H. Stuart remarked in his column in the *American* that the ex-service men did not have as many representatives on the slates as they thought themselves entitled to, but that they were working hard for those they had (*American*, February 11). The Service Men's Campaign Committee urged support of service candidates, "all other things being equal" (*News*, April 12).

significance of the appeal to this group was that it brought in a few enthusiasts and provided a useful classification of voters for personal solicitation.

Religious appeals.—Few definitely distinguishable appeals to religious groups were observed during this primary campaign. The "church vote" was apparently discounted by the local groups; in any case they had little or nothing to use as basis for an appeal to this element. The traditional use of this appeal was to avoid alienating well-defined religious groups by according them recognition on the various slates. It is doubtful if this precaution was any longer necessary, except in so far as religious affiliations and racial connections went hand in hand. The Democratic party, for example, drew heavily upon the Irish, Polish, and Bohemian groups. To say that the Democratic party was largely Catholic is merely to restate the same fact. Inspection of the Democratic slates reveals a preponderance of Catholic candidates. Turning to the Republican ranks we observe a large group of Germans and Scandinavians, mainly Protestant, but also some Catholic Italians and Poles, besides an important group of Irish Catholics. Hence the Republican slates were more equally divided between the two great sects. As far as the Protestant denominations were concerned, no attempt to distinguish between them or appeal to them separately could be seen. Their multiplicity would make this impossible, even if anything were to be gained by such a procedure, which is more than doubtful. On the other hand, candidates who, like Darrow, would antagonize certain church groups, would always be avoided.

A few specific religious appeals may be cited. McKinley, as we have seen, regarded the "church element" as favorable to his cause. He addressed many audiences of ministers and church members during his campaign.⁵⁴ His generosity included many church institutions among his benevolences.⁵⁵ In return he received the favor and even the open indorsement of this constituency.⁵⁶ Turning to the Democratic side we note that Mayor Dever, in a speech before the Knights of Columbus in St. Louis, declared this organization to be the "strongest power in public life in Chicago today" and asserted that its backing was responsible for whatever success his administration had achieved.⁵⁷ In the Brennan Democratic platform Protestant support for the anti-Volstead plank was invited in the quotations from Calvin and Henry Ward Beecher on "liberty." Numerous campaign meetings were held in churches, particularly in the negro belt. Further than this, religious elements seemed to be lacking except in so far as they were merged with the activities of civic organizations.⁵⁸

Appeals to fraternalism.—Candidates in this campaign did not openly appeal for the indorsement of fraternal organizations. Rather, they exhibited their record of membership in such groups as a recommendation for political preferment. Apparently there is a high correla-

⁵⁴ Hyde Park Y.M.C.A., First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, union church meeting in Wilmette, Baptist Ministers' Association, etc.

⁵⁵ Even during the campaign: \$10,000 to Hedding College, M.E., \$5,000 to Rockford College.

⁵⁶ For example, he was indorsed by the General Baptist State Convention of Illinois (*Tribune*, March 18).

⁵⁷ *Post*, February 9.

⁵⁸ See next chapter.

tion between aptitude for politics and being a good "joiner." This is not surprising. The solitary, introverted type of man may excel in science or art, but rarely in politics. The man who has no quarrel with his environment finds it natural and easy to join in the conventional forms of association characteristic of his community. Moreover, a lodge is a political community *in parvo* and serves as a good stepping-stone to the larger arena. Viewed materialistically, lodge membership widens the circle of personal acquaintanceship—the politicians' stock in trade—besides imparting the hallmark of good fellowship and invoking the loyalties involved in the fraternal obligation. Good lodgemen may become politicians, or aspiring politicians may widen their lodge memberships. At all events, the inspection of the campaign biography of almost any candidate will reveal an impressive list of memberships.⁵⁹ Only one notable effort

⁵⁹ Chester Patrick apparently owed his place on the Deneen ticket to his prominence as head of the charities committee of the Lions—a quasi- or business-lodge. Robert E. Crowe, John Dill Robertson, and George F. Harding were initiated into the Elks during the campaign (*American*, January 22; *Herald and Examiner*, March 26). Some sample affiliations: *Charles J. Peters* (Deneen-Lundin candidate for sheriff): A.F.&A.M., R.A.M., Knights Templars, Oriental Consistory, Mystic Shrine, Knights of Pythias, L.O.O.M., B.P.O.E., Royal League, Chicago Motor Club, Medinah Motor Club, German Club of Chicago, Teutonic Männerchor. *George Hull Porter* (Democratic candidate for sanitary trustee): Illinois Athletic Club, Railway Supply Mfrs. Association, Signal Appliance Association, Chicago Association of Commerce, Army and Navy Club, Crystal Lake Country Club, Michigan Field Club, Mount Pleasant Military Academy Alumni, American Legion, Apollo Commandery, Chicago Yacht Club, Civil Legion, Elks, Exemplar Lodge, Four Seasons Club, High Noon Club, Illinois Motor Club, Lafayette Chapter, Medinah Motor Club, Medinah Temple, Military Order of the World War, National Masonic Clubs, National Rail-

to capitalize lodge affiliations appeared during the campaign. Senator McKinley's managers announced that Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, who was coming to Chicago to address the Moose celebration on April 7, would speak in McKinley's favor. Smith adherents protested. It was pointed out that both McKinley and Smith were life-members of the Moose lodge. Eventually both candidates were excluded from the meeting and Davis spoke purely on lodge matters.⁶⁰

An appeal very similar to that based on lodge membership was the attempt to capitalize the "fraternism of sports and athletics." An optional boxing bill had been passed by the 1925 legislature, and at the primary election the voters were given an opportunity to legalize boxing in Chicago by accepting or rejecting this bill. Candidates generally curried favor with audiences sympathetic to this measure by promising their support, and campaign meetings were often held in athletic clubs to boost the bill and candidates as well.⁶¹ Established politicians, moreover, maintained permanent connections with the sporting fraternity. We read in the sporting news of teams named after them, such as the "Cermaks"

way Appliance Association, New England Society, The Otters, Palestine Council, Railway Electric Engineers, Railway Materials Association, Railway Signal Engineers, Sojourners Club, Sons American Revolution, South Shore Country Club, Turtle Lake Country Club, Western Railway Club, Press Club of Chicago.

⁶⁰ *Herald and Examiner*, March 30, 31.

⁶¹ Cf. meeting promoting candidacy of John M. Lee (*Tribune*, political notes, March 20); McKinley for the boxing bill (*American*, March 31); "Free athletic entertainment for Cermak" (*Tribune*, April 2).

and "Ellers"; we see Charles V. Barrett presenting a huge cup to the winner of a skating tournament.⁶² We even witness the Crowe-Barrett faction supporting a candidate for the state senate in the Twenty-fifth District whose chief recommendation seems to have been that he was president of the Western Skating Association.⁶³ An organization of golfers headed by Hobart P. Young, president of the Western Golf Association, and with "Chick" Evans as vice-president, was created to promote the candidacy of Charles V. Barrett.⁶⁴ The athletic record of Robert Jerome "Duke" Dunne, O'Connell-Dunne candidate for Board of Review, was held to be of great value to him in his campaign, and even Boss Brennan was believed to regard him as a dangerous candidate.⁶⁵ Much was made of George F. Harding's record as an amateur athlete and patron of yachting and other sport.⁶⁶ Alumni of Harvard were urged to support Harding, and a committee of Chicago alumni was mobilized to aid Francis L. Boutell. It was quoted to the credit of Judge Trude that he was a "C" man at the University of Chicago. Even the radio was brought in by Crowe-Barrett candidates; Lawrence King appealing to the sympathies of radio owners by his activities as vice-president of the Anti-Blooming League. Boutell gained the support of the Broadcast Listeners Association.⁶⁷

⁶² "Morris Eller Indoor Baseball Team" (*Herald and Examiner*, February 22); Barrett cup (*ibid.*).

⁶³ Frank M. Kalteux. Cf. *News*, January 21, April 9, etc.

⁶⁴ *Tribune*, March 31.

⁶⁵ *American*, March 31; *Herald and Examiner*, March 30.

⁶⁶ *American*, March 24, April 3.

⁶⁷ *Post*, April 7.

Without extending the list farther we may well conclude that few of the fraternal and club activities of voters were overlooked by the primary campaigners.⁶⁸

Appeal to sectional feeling.—Last, but by no means least important of the special appeals, we note that to local loyalty. It was as much a part of the well-rounded ticket to secure representation for the different sections of the city as to placate races and religions. The Brennan Democratic slate was the most carefully constructed in this respect, which is not surprising as it was consciously planned as a complete slate for the final election for the party, and not merely designed to please a single faction. The county ticket included twelve representatives of West Side wards, thirteen of North and North-west Side wards, and twelve of South Side wards. Thirty-two wards were represented by candidates, eighteen were unrepresented, and only five wards had two candidates. The Crowe and Deneen slates were not so well balanced, while the Dunne slate neglected the West Side completely.⁶⁹ This appeal to geographical situation was of course aided by the fact that local feeling could be reasonably well taken care of through nominations for the

⁶⁸ Even the indorsements of athletes were sought, e.g., Ray Schalk of the White Sox for Smith (*Post*, April 7). Theatrical indorsements were not lacking, e.g., Leon Errol of the "Louis XIV" company, for the Crowe-Barrett slate; "Sport" Herman of the Cort Theater, for Harding.

⁶⁹ Crowe-Barrett: South Side 10, West Side 9, North Side 17; Deneen: South Side 13, West Side 6, North Side 16; Dunne: South Side 12, West Side 2, North Side 10. Candidates living outside the city are excluded in the foregoing computation. Wards numbered 1-19 are reckoned as south, 20-32 as west, 33-50 as north.

legislature. The requirement that one assessor and five county commissioners reside outside of Chicago, though voted on by the whole county, made it possible to appeal to the suburban constituencies through these candidates, and care was taken that these should be reasonably well distributed. The geographical distribution of candidates was not a vital concern to the voting public, but as a means of recognizing and rewarding local leaders it played a considerable rôle in the strategy of the campaign.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ It was not an isolated case of demagoguery for Thomas O'Grady to cry to his hearers "back of the Yards," "Do you want our district to be represented by that Pole, Wolleck, from the other side of Ashland Avenue?"

CHAPTER IX

THE GOOD GOVERNMENT ISSUE; CIVIC AGENCIES IN THE CAMPAIGN

If a specific discussion of the place of civic intelligence in the campaign has thus far been omitted, it is because that commodity was but rarely dealt in by the gentlemen who directed the political destinies of the embattled groups. However obvious it may seem that the chief, almost the sole, criterion for the selection of public servants should be their capacity to perform honestly, adequately, and intelligently the duties of the offices sought, the whole technique of appeals employed in this campaign tended to obscure the individual candidate, merging him with his group. The latter, lacking genuine issues, necessarily resorted to the type of campaigning which sought an emotional rather than an intellectual response. A certain amount of lip-service was rendered to the "intelligent voter" in the formal factional platforms, but even here the planks which really merited attention, such as "Home Rule for Chicago," and "beer and wine," did not represent matters on which there was any material disagreement between the factions.

The stress placed on the merits of particular candidates varied, of course, from faction to faction. While all realized the advantage of naming a few men of proved ability, following the sales practice of selling inferior

goods with the aid of bargain headliners, the stronger organizations apparently thought it unnecessary to direct attention to the personal merits of their entire candidate lists. Thus it was the Deneen and the O'Connell groups which strove to compensate for their lack of effective campaign personnel by emphasizing the superior quality of their candidates. Not all of the O'Connell selections were impressive, but much interest was expressed in such men as Jerome ("Duke") Dunne and William Sterling Maxwell. Mr. West, the Deneen chairman, thought the merits of the Deneen candidates sufficiently outstanding to warrant a clear-cut appeal on that basis,¹ and his lead was followed by the speakers campaigning for this ticket. Indorsements of Deneen men by civic organizations were pointed to as confirming the claims made.

Only in a few instances, however, did the records and potentialities of candidates receive extended attention. These arose in connection with sharp contests for important offices and partook of the nature of "mud-slinging" rather than impartial analysis. On the Republican side these included the Trude-Savage contest for the county judgeship, the races between Devine and Harding for county treasurer and Wolff and Barrett for Board of Review, and the case of "Diamond Joe" Esposito, Deneen candidate for county commissioner. We have already noted the repartee indulged in by Trude, Savage, and their supporters.² In the case of Mr. Harding, evidence was brought out to show that he had in-

¹ See his statement issued March 14.

² See chap. iv.

dulged in tax-dodging on a large scale,³ to which he retorted that Devine, if elected, would be the tool of "political bankers." Coroner Wolff, the Deneen entry for Board of Review, flatly accused Mr. Barrett of using his office for personal and political advantage. The testimonials upon which Mr. Barrett's campaign was largely based came, said Mr. Wolff, chiefly from men who had received reductions in their assessments, expected to receive them, or feared that they would be increased. Mr. Barrett ignored these charges, but Mr. Crowe pointed out that Mr. Wolff had not long since been adjudged a bankrupt. "So was General Grant," rejoined Mr. Wolff, declaring that all his obligations had been met.

The case of Esposito was cited by Mr. Crowe to prove the hollowness of the Deneen pretensions embodied in Mr. West's statement, mentioned above. "Imagine our having anyone like that on our ticket," he said, citing the facts that "Diamond Joe" had once been indicted for murder, though the indictment had been dismissed, and that he had recently paid a fine of \$1,000 and had his restaurant padlocked for violation of the prohibition law. Esposito, amiable and charitable

³ This charge was developed in a campaign sheet, *City Hall Gossip*, issued by Tomaz P. Deuther, a political free-lance, which was widely circulated by the Deneen interests. \$257,000 in back taxes on Harding real estate was said to have been wiped off the books by the County Board on recommendation of the state's attorney. "He calls himself 'Save-a-million' Harding," said William H. Dunne, who took the platform on behalf of Devine. "Let him go on a little longer and he will have saved that much for himself." Harding replied that the tax compromises were a part of the settlement of his father's estate and had no political implications.

and a power among his countrymen, was counted on to aid the Deneen ticket in the stronghold of its foes, but his presence on the ticket greatly weakened the efficacy of general appeals based on the qualifications of candidates.

Handicapped by the "spotted" character of their slates, the various factions were unable consistently to urge that they be supported in order to secure the nomination of the best-qualified men. The only substantial demands for "good government" as a paramount consideration came from the agencies representing organized civic consciousness and from the newspapers. The attitudes and activities of these groups and organs not only illuminate significant aspects of the campaign, but also furnish useful material for diagnosing the total political situation. Among the organized groups we may consider the Better Government Association, the Citizens' Committee of 200, the Legislative Voters' League, the Bar Association, the women's organizations, the churches and clergy, and a number of less active groups. The attitude of each of the newspapers will also be appraised.

Although not always exciting favorable comment, the Better Government Association undoubtedly attracted the greatest attention during the campaign of all the organizations mentioned. This organization was rather closely identified with the church and the "dry" interests. Its managing board counted among its members seventeen clergymen and thirty-seven business and professional men. Its two chief executives, Rev. E. J. Davis, superintendent, and Rev. E. L. Williams, direc-

tor of law enforcement, had formerly been connected with the Anti-Saloon League, and carried over into their new work the "practical" attitude characteristic of that organization. We have already noted some of the activities of this group, which may here be briefly reviewed. At an early stage of the campaign it attacked the local "alliances between crime and politics," and charged the Crowe-Barrett and Brennan groups with being allied in a bi-partisan combination for corrupt control of local government. It carried to the United States Senate a petition asking a federal examination of such matters, which, however, was denied by a committee of that body. It protested against the "illegal" filings for places on the primary ballot and urged a special grand jury and special state's attorney to get at the root of this and other evils. Its charges annoyed local politicians; members of the City Council threatened an investigation of its activities, and Mayor Dever protested against the "defamers of Chicago." The revelation of the fact that in 1924 the organization had accepted a gift of \$23,000 from George Brennan shocked its supporters and brought down severe criticism from all sides. It continued to play a part in the campaign, but with impaired influence. It issued a list of indorsements, omitting the Democrats, and including 30 Deneen candidates, 7 Crowe-Barrett candidates, and 3 independents.⁴

The Citizens' Committee of 200 represented a substantial and serious effort on the part of important interests to secure the nomination of qualified candidates. The movement was initiated in December, 1925, by

⁴ See its bulletin, *Better Government*, *passim*.

twenty-eight business, professional, and civic leaders of the highest type, who sent out a letter requesting co-operation in bringing out able candidates. The "Committee" was organized December 18 at the Hotel LaSalle at a meeting presided over by Harry Eugene Kelly, chairman of the public affairs committee of the Union League Club and later president of that organization. Henry P. Chandler, a prominent and civic-minded lawyer, was made chairman of the executive committee and subcommittees were appointed to confer with the slate committees of Republican and Democratic factions to urge on the latter the selection of qualified men.⁵ These succeeded, however, in making only a minor impression upon the character of the tickets named. The Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson leaders flatly declined to negotiate, and named their own "committee of 200" in frank imitation of the citizens' group, though this Crowe-Barrett "citizens'" committee was a hand-picked assemblage which ratified without discrimination the candidates selected by the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson slate-makers. The Deneen leaders gave polite attention to the suggestions of the citizens' representatives, but proceeded to select their candidates in their own way. The Democratic tickets, likewise, showed no trace of influence from this source. Mr. Chandler, after the slates had been announced, deplored

⁵ The Republican group included Amos C. Miller, Wyllis W. Baird, Judge Charles S. Cutting, George O. Fairweather, Mrs. Harry Hart, Oscar S. Kropf, and Augustus W. Peabody. The Democratic group included Carl Latham, William Rothmann, Jacob M. Dickenson, Jr., Mrs. E. J. Fleming, Mrs. H. D. Follansbee, Edward N. Hurley, Charles J. Vopicka, and Henry G. Zander. *Post*, editorial, February 13.

their mixed character, and declared that he "couldn't look a man in the face and ask him to take either of these [Republican] tickets straight."

Having failed to influence the selection of factional candidates, the committee determined to investigate thoroughly and report on the advisability of voting for individual candidates. It was decided to recommend only men "whose capacity is commensurate with the magnitude of the position." No "little men" were indorsed. Of the 173 candidates, 103 were considered, and only 37 recommended to the voters. Indorsements for legislative and judicial positions were left to the Legislative Voters' League and Bar Association. The Brennan slate was entirely ignored with the exception of Judge Jarecki, while nine O'Connell-Dunne men were approved. On the Republican side, seventeen Deneen men and ten Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson nominees were approved. Mr. Chandler, in the press and before such organizations as the Sunday Evening Club, Kiwanis, and Woman's Roosevelt Republican Club, urged the voters to ignore factional lines and to vote only for fit candidates, arguing that a better impression would be created and a foundation for the future would be laid by rolling up a big vote for a few candidates rather than by attempting to choose the less objectionable of two that were unfit. The committee published a display advertisement in two newspapers the day before registration urging citizens to register. On the day before the primary it published a quarter-page advertisement in each of the six Chicago newspapers listing its indorsements and those of the Bar Association, concluding with

the statement: "This is your opportunity to act effectively for good government in Cook County. Use it." Leaflets containing these recommendations were also widely circulated. The work of this committee deserves high commendation. Within the limits set it is difficult to see what more it could have done. Yet its influence on the result of the election was apparently negligible.

The Legislative Voters' League, a well-established and highly respected non-partisan organization, made a material contribution to the campaign for "good government." Its January bulletin reviewed the record of the outgoing members of the General Assembly and passed judgment upon the legislative output and the leadership of Governor Small. The April bulletin contained the League's recommendations for the primary. Its judgments of candidates were cautious, judicious, and temperate, avoiding, on the one hand, the impractical attitude of the professional reformer, and on the other hand insisting on the maintenance of adequate standards of performance. Candidates favored by both Republican factions were approved, fourteen of Crowe-Barrett affiliation, thirteen Deneen candidates, eight independents, and three unopposed. The League's indorsees met only fair success, eighteen contests going to unindorsed candidates, fifteen to those approved by the League.

Pursuing its practice of over a score of years, the Chicago Bar Association took an active part in the selection of candidates for judicial positions. In January, at the request of the Committee of 200, a "white list" of nearly two hundred lawyers believed to be qualified for judicial office was compiled. Every lawyer in Cook

County was asked to submit the names of twelve who were qualified and willing to serve; from the returns the list was compiled. It was transmitted to the slate-making committees of all factions. Early in April the report of the Association's committee on candidates, approved by the Board of Managers, was submitted to the members of the Association in preparation for the usual bar primary. Five days later, April 8, the result of the primary was announced. All members of the Association were given the opportunity to vote by postcard for candidates of their party. The Republican returns showed a heavy preference for the Deneen nominees. For county judge, Judge Trude received 1,691 votes to 398 for Savage; for probate judge, Holmes obtained 1,386 to 243 for Hough. Nine of the first twelve choices for municipal judge went to Deneen men, and only two to representatives of the Crowe-Barrett slate. Six sitting judges, four of them backed by Crowe-Barrett, but condemned by the Managing Board's report, were left far in the rear. On the Democratic side the recommendations of the committee were likewise followed, three O'Connell-Dunne choices replacing, in the first twelve, three Brennan nominees reported to be not qualified. Like other recommendations of civic organizations, the advice of the Bar Association was ignored in the voting on April 13. Only four of the Republican leaders in the bar primary were nominated; six of the other winners were among those described as unqualified by the report of the committee on candidates. In the Democratic primary, the entire Brennan list, unfit as well as fit, received the nominations.

A number of women's organizations functioned actively in the campaign and should be referred to at this point. The Woman's Roosevelt Republican Club included in its membership many prominent leaders in club and civic affairs and some active politicians. Organized to oppose William Hale Thompson and the type of administration for which he stood, it found it impossible to indorse the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson slate, although in the past it had co-operated with Mr. Barrett and Mr. Brundage. The alliance of Deneen with Small and Lundin precluded approval of the Deneen slate, since Small and Lundin had also been persistently fought by the club. While slate-making had been going on, the leaders of the club attempted to secure the co-operation of Mr. Brundage in an effort to place good candidates on the ticket of his group, but he seemed to be unable to do more than express a friendly interest. Efforts were made to confer with Senator Deneen, but although appointments were twice made for a conference, he seemed unable to spare time during his brief visits to Chicago in the slate-making period to meet the club leaders. The unpromising nature of the situation led the executive committee of the club to recommend that no indorsements be made save in the case of Senator McKinley. An attempt was made to commit the club to the candidacy of Bertha Baur for Congress, but this was defeated.

The Illinois League of Women Voters made a special effort to educate its constituency concerning the merits of candidates for the senate, for Congress, and for the General Assembly, and for other state offices selected at this time. A questionnaire was circulated among the

candidates requesting personal and biographical data and inviting an expression of opinion on certain public issues in which the League was interested. The voting record of candidates who had previous legislative experience was compiled. This information, together with a discussion of the issues of the campaign, was published in the April bulletin of the League. Much credit is due to Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, vice-president, Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, chairman of the Department of Efficiency in Government of the League, and their assistants in making this educative effort. Many candidates, however, failed to reply and the information obtained was necessarily fragmentary.

A similar compilation with reference to city and county candidates was made for the Woman's City Club by Mrs. May Wood-Simons, chairman of the Municipal Citizenship Committee. This was likewise far from complete, many candidates having ignored the club's questionnaire. In neither case was a recommendation made, the object being merely to supply information. Other efforts to interest and inform the women voters included a "political Plattsburg" conducted by the Woman's Roosevelt Republican Club and a "pre-primary school" under the auspices of the Woman's City Club. On March 30 the latter organization held an all-day session listening to two-minute speeches from candidates, while somewhat earlier, in one of the most interesting affairs of the campaign, McKinley, Smith, and Brennan appeared on the same platform before the Chicago League of Women Voters Forum.

The efforts of the women's organizations represented

a valuable movement for civic betterment, somewhat handicapped by the undeveloped interest of the majority of the group and the lack of a realistic attitude toward politics on the part of many of the leaders. They appear to have exerted negligible influence on the outcome of this campaign.

An interesting problem is presented by the relation of the clergy and the churches to this primary election. A certain amount of contact between the clergy and the political situation was maintained through the Better Government Association. The activities of this latter body were freely discussed by the Union Ministers representing 740 churches, as a result of an address delivered to them by Edward T. Lee, acting president of the Association, on February 22. The Methodist Ministers Association likewise took notice of the Brennan gift, but eventually, in spite of some dissent, expressed its confidence in the "B.G.A." A number of other political utterances reached the public press from church sources. Early in February, speakers at the convention of Protestant Episcopal clergy denounced the alliance between crime and politics, and a resolution was adopted urging all Christians to take part in the city primaries and elections. Five hundred divinity students attending a conference of 38 seminaries at the University of Chicago February 25 heard Dr. A. W. Palmer, of the First Congregational Church, Oak Park, commend the Better Government Association, discuss non-voting, and declare that if the 200,000 church votes went regularly to the polls unfit candidates would not be nominated. Finally we may quote the statement of Dr. Brummitt of the

Northwest Christian Advocate to the effect that politicians would cultivate the church vote if they had the slightest reason to suspect that it would do its duty on election day. Events appeared to justify the indifference of the professionals to the church element. There was no evidence of the mobilization of the church vote in the primary, and however great the number of church members who voted, it does not appear that the churches generally had attempted to identify themselves with any of the issues of the campaign. Of 205 church services listed in the *Chicago Tribune* on the Sunday before the primary, only five announced a sermon or discussion topic bearing upon politics. Of the sermons broadcast on Sunday morning, only one discussing the primary was found, that of Rev. Rufus A. White from the People's Liberal Church—this single exception proving to be an able and realistic analysis of the situation.

The organizations above discussed took an active part in the campaign. Other civic groups appeared from time to time. The Crime Commission and the Committee of Fifteen were often mentioned in connection with the issue of criminal politics, both taking a view favorable to State's Attorney Crowe. The Citizens' Association circulated a bulletin approving the record of Judge Jarecki, successfully prosecuted the suit to prevent an illegal increase of \$1,800 in the salaries of Mr. Cermak and the other members of the County Board, and announced its approval of the bond issues voted on at the primary. Bulletins of the Civic Federation approved the bond issues and warned voters of possible increases in the tax rate if unfit candidates were elected. The

Bureau of Public Efficiency likewise approved the bond issues. The secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association circularized his constituency urging independent voting and a fight on the bosses. The Municipal Voters' League, though not indorsing candidates at this time, kept closely in touch with the situation, and enlivened the campaign by issuing specific charges of graft on the part of members of the city council.

Let us now consider the distinctive contributions of the newspapers as civic agencies. Wide differences appeared in the attitudes adopted by the different organs, and these produced important consequences in the campaign. First let us consider the Hearst press. Both the *Herald and Examiner* and *Evening American* devoted themselves to attacks on the World Court and to advocacy of the senatorial ambitions of Frank L. Smith. The latter, without committing itself editorially, seemed equally devoted to the cause of William Hale Thompson and hence to the faction with which he was affiliated. Its columns became avenues of propaganda for the Home-Rule faction, and while the Deneen group was not slighted in the sense that information concerning its activities was suppressed, yet the tone of the reporting and the interpretation of the news was strongly biased in the other direction. The *Herald and Examiner* maintained the pretense of acting according to "principle" and of maintaining impartiality, but this claim was too transparent to be convincing. On March 15, a few days before breaking out into the astounding barrage of anti-World Court propaganda we have described,⁶ it referred

⁶ See chap. iii.

to the local use of the World Court issue by the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson group as a "political bunk-screen" and urged the consideration of the merits of the candidates. After the election it congratulated itself that it had presented the World Court issue on which the primary was decided "without a word of comment adversely to Senator McKinley personally," and while repeatedly urging that only the senatorial campaign was concerned with the question. Yet it could not have been unaware that floods of fear, hatred, and prejudice aroused by a mass attack of propaganda cannot be diverted into a given channel by mere words spoken gently at intervals, and in the very editorial last quoted it was admitted that the World Court had carried the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson candidates through and that in its local aspects the primary was meaningless.⁷ The Hearst papers further failed to display enthusiasm for the activities of organizations working for civic betterment. In an early editorial the *Herald and Examiner* criticized the method of the bar primary although it later apparently accepted its results. The Better Government Association was ridiculed, particularly by the *American*, and professional reformers harshly abused. The findings of the Legislative Voters League were abbreviated and printed without indorsement.⁸ Both papers seized upon the sensational aspects of the McSwiggin murder and made interesting revelations, without, however, carrying them through to a useful end. On the whole these two journals must be denied a place among those agencies functioning for civic better-

⁷ *Herald and Examiner*, April 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, April 4.

ment in this campaign. Though their aggressive news policy was useful, this service was more than counter-balanced by the impetus given to the irrational and destructive forces present in the campaign.

The *Chicago Journal*, the sole Democratic organ, reported the news of the campaign in thorough and penetrating fashion, often excelling its rivals in its analyses of political moves. Its editorial policy was impartial, tolerant, and philosophical. Little confidence was expressed in reform as such, but the honest motives of the reformers were not questioned. Chicago politics it regarded as the "city's greatest indoor-outdoor sport . . . as much of a tangle and as full of movement as a canful of angle-worms."⁹ Though believed to be friendly to the O'Connell-Dunne group, it maintained a balance between the Democratic as well as the Republican factions.

The *Tribune*, though active in opposition to the World Court, found it possible to indorse Senator McKinley just before the primary. It professed to remain impartial as between different groups, pointing to its well-established opposition to Thompson and to Small as making it impossible to approve the leadership of either Republican faction. The effect of its policy, however, and this could scarcely have been unintentional, was to affect unfavorably the chances for success of the Deneen group. This element could hope to win only by preserving its reputation for superior respectability and civic responsibility. From the beginning, in its treatment of the news and in the weekly articles by "Senator," the *Tribune* conveyed the impression that one faction was

⁹ *Journal*, March 8, editorial.

as bad as another. In its editorials just prior to the primary, it declared itself "stumped" and admitted that it did not know how to use a vote. It referred to the time "when Deneen was at the height of his reputation" as if in the past, and by placing in juxtaposition the statements "It is especially important to these combinations to elect the county judge and have supervision of the elections. . . . For Small the elections are of desperate importance" it implied that Judge Trude would favor Small if chosen. It formally indorsed Charles V. Barrett. It carried its counsels of despair to the point that it did not even recommend voting for the able candidates on both slates, a practice which would have favored the Deneen ticket because of its superior personnel. It contented itself with expressing the hope that in the future the Republican party would be in a position to make a clear choice between good and bad leadership. It bitterly assailed the Better Government Association, both as reformers and as drys. It approved, however, the recommendations of the Legislative Voters' League and the Bar Association, and in the early stages of the campaign spoke favorably of the program of the Committee of 200. In summary it may be concluded that the *Tribune* forfeited its claim to genuine leadership of the constructive forces by its inconsistencies, its disingenuousness, and its concealed advocacy of one Republican group, in spite of much useful material appearing in its columns.

The policy of the *Evening Post* was straightforward, sincere, and consistently in the public interest. It openly supported Senator McKinley from the beginning and

was equally outspoken in its defense of the World Court proposal. It regretted the lack of judgment displayed by the Better Government Association, but recognized the evils which the latter was attempting to expose. It condemned the alliances with Thompson and Small, and in the phrase "A plague on both your houses" rejected unqualified support of either Republican group. It actively advocated discriminating choice of fit candidates, and devoted much attention to the work of the Committee of 200. The indorsements of candidates by the Legislative Voters' League and Bar Association were adopted. The reasons for the unsatisfactory political situation in Cook County were shrewdly analyzed and the explanation for the ineffectiveness of civic groups and reformers clearly set forth. The *Post* made its own recommendations for the primary, following the Committee of 200, but supplementing its partial selections with a complete list. After the primary it expressed profound dissatisfaction with the workings of the electoral system as manifested in the primary. Whether or not the *Post* was correct in all of its findings, it undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to civic leadership at this time.

The *Daily News*, regarded as the journal possessing greatest influence with the business and professional classes and the independent voters generally, pursued a highly creditable course during the campaign. In a sequence of editorials outnumbering those of any other journal, it explored all the recesses of Cook County factional politics. It affirmed the charges of bi-partisanship and of criminal politics, denominated the Crowe-Bar-

rett World Court appeal as "applesauce," condemned the maneuvers of Governor Small and the revived ambitions of "Big Bill" Thompson. It expressed no confidence in Mr. Crowe, ruthlessly revealed the shortcomings of his candidate for county judge and the incapacity of his other judicial candidates, pointedly inquiring why the state's attorney desired unfit judges. It pointed out the dangers of vote frauds and how they could be avoided. It expounded the evils of non-voting and repeatedly urged a revival of civic interest. It approved the activities of civic agencies, and made a heavy contribution to the selection of fit candidates by its own complete report and recommendations just before the primary. It was not overfriendly toward Senator Deneen, being the first to designate his slate as the "Deneen-Lundin" ticket. Its recommendations showed that it believed the greater number of the Deneen nominees to be superior, but it went so far in rebuking the Small-Lundin alliance that it undoubtedly contributed very largely to the success of the Crowe-Barrett slate. It preferred McKinley to Smith, but chose to aid the former by treating the World Court as a "dead issue," whereas events demonstrated that he sorely needed a vigorous and positive champion. These policies, which may be regarded as mistaken, should not obscure the tremendous service rendered by the *News* to the cause of civic decency and political improvement. Had its advice been generally followed by the voters, little fault could have been found with the outcome.

In concluding this chapter on the activities of the forces of "good government" in the campaign, let us con-

sider the question: Why did so much well-meant activity have such small effect? A tentative answer, already suggested, may be advanced, namely, the lack of political realism and effective organization characterizing these ventures. It is extremely difficult to realize that the "game of politics" is in reality a very highly professionalized business in which success depends upon much more than inspirational talks and pious platitudes. To transfer control of the political machinery from the less reputable to the more civic-minded groups requires even more sustained and organized effort on the part of the latter than is now exerted by the former. Commenting on the activities of the Committee of 200 the *Post* remarked:

A committee of 200 respectable citizens . . . enters the field at the last moment and attempts to score against the professionals who have been in the field every day and every night since the last election. The respectable citizens gather a few thousand dollars together, hire a few clerks and stenographers, and go valiantly to work against organizations with trained workers in every ward and precinct—workers who are paid out of the public treasury, and who devote themselves to their jobs with the industry which is stimulated by the need of a livelihood. To expect such an amateur effort as this to accomplish anything of far-reaching importance . . . is about as reasonable as to expect an aggregation of nine eminent bankers, lawyers and manufacturers to beat the White Sox or the Cubs after a few Saturday afternoons of practice.¹⁰

If the emotional tirades of the Hearst press rather than the political wisdom of the *Daily News* prevailed, it must be realized that the former was driven home by a

¹⁰ *Post*, editorial, March 30.

highly efficient organization in every precinct, while the latter could have been effectuated only by the "intelligent citizen" who too often even shirked the "dirty job" of going to the polls. The blame does not lie with the shrewd and competent leaders of such organizations as the Legislative and Municipal Voters' Leagues, but with their constituencies whose attitude has not encouraged efforts to organize them, although such organization is essential to a reconstruction of the political framework under which abuses flourish or to obtaining control of the existing machinery.

CHAPTER X

ANALYTICAL SURVEY OF THE PRIMARY ELECTION

The most important aspects of the primary having been discussed in some detail, we will now undertake to analyze and appraise the results of the election as a whole.

POPULAR PARTICIPATION: NON-VOTING

1. *Importance of the question.*—The indifference of the voting public and the small percentage of eligible voters going to the polls were given much attention by all parties during the campaign. The newspapers harped ceaselessly on the subject. It was emphasized both as a local problem and a national phenomenon. Mr. Coolidge, in an address delivered to the Daughters of the American Revolution not long after the primary, described abstention from voting as a more serious menace to the American system of government than are revolutionary violence and professional crime. The *News* declared that the result of this abdication of the voter must be the destruction of genuinely representative government.

Not only did the newspapers and the organized civic agencies vigorously urge the voters to participate in the primary, but the factional groups themselves were eager to see a large attendance at the polls. This was perhaps less true of the Brennan group than the rest, as this element was chiefly concerned with making a good showing

for its senatorial candidate, but even here it counted on popular support of the "beer" issue to draw large groups to its standard. Mr. O'Connell's followers of course hoped for a popular overthrow of Mr. Brennan's leadership. In ordinary circumstances, the faction of Mr. Crowe would have preferred to rely upon its organization strength, but in this poll it built much on an issue which appealed to that part of the "newspaper vote" which is influenced by the Hearst press. Mr. Deneen's followers were hopeful that their "good government" plea would bring out the independent voters, especially in the hope of nominating Judge Trude.

2. *Non-voting in this election.*—With all of this encouragement, with a maximum of publicity, and with important issues apparently at stake, it might be supposed that in this primary, if ever, the voters would turn out en masse. The recount of ballots for both parties threw much doubt upon the actual number of voters who really participated in the election. Making all allowances, however, the vote was not much above 50 per cent of the number registered. This was less than the number participating in the presidential primaries of 1924, though more than cast their ballots for the senatorial nominees on the same occasion. In brief, it appears that the anticipated improvement in the size of the vote was not realized, and that the indifference of the voter was as great as ever.¹

¹ The illicit voting and stolen ballots shown by the recount make the official figures inaccurate as a basis for estimating the percentage of votes cast. According to figures furnished by the Election Commission, the total vote in Chicago, Republican, Democratic, and Progressive, was 597,747. The total registered was 1,060,118. On this basis the per-

3. *Explanations and remedies.*—Little attempt was evident to analyze scientifically the reasons for non-participation. The *Tribune* called attention to the study made by Merriam and Gosnell, noted the large number of reasons there cited, and concluded that views on the subject "must be more or less speculative." It suggested that one important reason is that voting is a very unpleasant experience. Even the best-informed citizens, when they enter the voting booth, feel as if they were in a strange room in the dark. They are voting for men whom they know little about to fill offices the functions of which are often vaguely understood. Citizens are obliged to pass on questions of policy which they could not properly understand without weeks of study. Only a small percentage of voters leave the polls with the satisfactory sense of having done a job well. Perhaps the long ballot and the referendum are responsible.²

The *News*, it is true, called attention to the fact that

centage voting was 56.4 per cent. Approximately 10,000 votes had been shown to be stolen for leading candidates for municipal judge when 960 precincts had been counted, at which rate the total in all precincts would approach 24,000. This does not take into account "stuffed ballots" in various wards, which, since they were legal in form, were not thrown out. Without allowing for these, the voting percentage becomes 54.1 per cent. Assuming, as is usually done, that about 200,000 did not register, the percentage of actual voters participating was approximately 45.4 per cent.

In the township of New Trier, comprising four wealthy North Shore residential villages, a special effort was made to get out the vote, a banner being awarded to the village making the best showing. The results were: Kenilworth, 47.1 per cent, Winnetka, 44 per cent, Glencoe, 39.4 per cent, Wilmette, 38.7 per cent (*Tribune*, May 5).

² *Tribune*, April 22.

the intense interest shown in politics by past generations was not all due to civic virtue now supposed to be languishing.

In the days when interest in politics was at its height politics was the only sport in this country that commanded more than local attention. Athletic events . . . did not get into print. The one variety of contest with a sporting aspect that the nation heard about was politics. . . . People then read the political news much as the sporting news is now read. . . . A telling argument by Webster was regarded much as would now be regarded a right hook by Dempsey.

This no doubt is equivalent to saying that understanding of government has got beyond the grasp of the voter. Walled in by the complications of present-day civilization, he fails to perceive the immediate connection between his welfare and the acts of the official group. As Mr. Root pointed out to the National Civic Federation,³ the voter comes into the political picture only after the entire stage has been set by the preliminary work of the machines and the bosses, and his ballot amounts to no more than a ratification of the decisions of the professionals. Small wonder that he feels that his vote hardly counts and that it matters little whether he votes at all. But if, as Mr. Root suggests, what is needed is the participation of the voter in the intimate details of party organization, how can he be induced to put forth that effort? To say that "education" is necessary is merely to rephrase the question in another form. What kind of education will produce the desired effect? The answer is pregnant with significance to the future

³ *News*, April 26.

of democracy and popular government. Whatever the method, we must set down as a foremost ingredient in any scheme of improvement a patient and persistent effort to produce, among coming generations, a more vigorous and enlightened type of citizenship.

EXPLANATION OF THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION

Attempts to explain why any election resulted as it did fall in the field of speculation. Our survey of the different factors entering into this primary has been sufficiently complete, however, for an attempt to be made, with at least some hope of approximating the truth. As far as the victory of the Brennan Democrats is concerned, there is little doubt that the superiority of the organization of the regular Democrats is entirely adequate to account for their victory. It may be suggested that, as shown by the recounts, many votes were "stolen" for regular Democratic candidates. But this, too, can be charged to the organization, such frauds as were committed being undoubtedly the work of over-enthusiastic partisans. The recount indicated that the anti-Brennan protest achieved more substantial proportions than the "official" vote showed, but the change was not sufficient to upset any of the judgments we have previously uttered. We will, therefore, limit our analysis to two contests, first that between McKinley and Smith, and second, between the Deneen-Lundin and the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson county and judicial slates.

1. *McKinley versus Smith*.—Let us list in parallel columns the factors apparently operating to the advantage of the two contestants.

FOR MCKINLEY

1. Pro-Court vote: Women, church, pacifist, internationalists, intelligentsia
2. Labor vote: a few labor leaders, street-car unions
3. Farm vote: little if any
4. Regular Republican vote: those loyal to Coolidge
5. Business vote: large business interests, reputation for business success
6. Soldier vote: disabled veterans
7. "Wet" vote: opposed to McKinley
8. Personality of McKinley: quiet and unimpressive, poor campaigner, rather aloof though cultivating informal pose, generous
9. Campaign expenditures: Smith accused of being financed by Insull; his expenditures alleged to be large

FOR SMITH

1. Anti-Court vote: prevailing mass opinion, typical mid-west Republican sentiment
2. Labor vote: Illinois Federation, railroad brotherhoods, mine workers—mass of labor vote, including Small's labor following
3. Farm vote: greatest portion of class-conscious farmers or their sympathizers
4. Insurgent Republican vote: Borah group, those who believed that regularity was not an issue
5. Business vote: utility interests (concerned with Smith as commerce commissioner), business interested in farm prosperity
6. Soldier vote: those who favored bonus, aggressive, militant type
7. "Wet" vote: believed Smith more amenable to persuasion than McKinley
8. Personality of Smith: aggressive, active campaigner, type of "average man"
9. Campaign expenditures: McKinley's slush fund of a million dollars; accused of buying election—Newberyism

FOR MCKINLEY

10. Newspaper support: *Post, News, Tribune* (late and weak indorsement)
11. Organization support: Deneen-Lundin organization, though not enthusiastic everywhere. Part of Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson organization, including Brundage wards (44-50), Galpin (27), Behan (5), Snow (6), Ringer (7)
12. Advertising and paid publicity: somewhat greater than Smith's
13. Corruption: Some votes "miscounted" for McKinley

FOR SMITH

10. Newspaper support: *Herald and Examiner, American, Tribune* (attack on World Court)
11. Organization support: All the Crowe-Barrett strength, with the exceptions noted; some workers in Brundage wards; one Deneen-Lundin (Moynihan, 10)
12. Advertising and paid publicity: not quite so extensive as McKinley's; Insull's paid propaganda against World Court
13. Corruption: more votes "miscounted" for Smith

Running over these elements we observe that Smith had the advantage on almost all counts. The points numbered 4 and 5 probably should be scored on McKinley's side; the soldier vote was probably not unevenly divided, and McKinley's publicity probably in itself was no more effective than Smith's. Otherwise Smith's guns were more heavily loaded than McKinley's.

From a careful study of the vote by wards we may conclude in the first place that McKinley was a weaker candidate in comparison with Smith than Trude was in comparison with Savage. The organization work pro-

duced unquestioned results—note the Twenty-seventh Ward particularly—but it was harder to deliver for McKinley. Secondly, the Deneen people were not over-enthusiastic for McKinley, and it may be hazarded without serious risk of error that many of the precinct captains “traded” McKinley for Trude or some other Deneen candidate or candidates. Moreover, in the Deneen-Lundin combination were many Small men who preferred Smith, an important cog in the state governmental machine. Moynihan, colleague of Smith on the Commerce Commission, of course refused to go along for McKinley. No doubt others followed his example to a greater or less degree.⁴ Thirdly, the wards that went for McKinley, with the exception of two on the West Side, were in the sections peopled largely by the substantial business type likely to favor McKinley in any case. As organization strength was finally lined up between McKinley and Smith, the wards pledged to McKinley were pretty much those that would have gone for him in any case. Had the Crowe-Barrett group lined up for him, the result would have been much different. McKinley received a 4,600 majority from Homer Galpin’s ward. Had the other West Side leaders done proportionately well, the result might easily have been reversed.

We must, finally, ask the question: Was Smith’s majority (55,980 in the city, 47,077 in the county) due to popular support or organization support? Bearing in mind all of the foregoing points, and not minimizing the

⁴Morris Eller insisted: “Deneen-Lundin were for Smith in my ward (Twentieth).” Reed committee testimony, *Tribune*, August 6.

value of the organization work done for both, it seems clear that Smith's victory was a popular one. The Hearst papers and Smith himself gave the credit to the World Court issue, and McKinley practically conceded the point. We must not overlook, however, one very important factor. McKinley was never very popular in Cook County. Smith beat him by nearly 70,000 in 1920. The 1926 vote marks a distinct gain for the senator. Of course in 1920 he was but a down-state congressman with little following in the metropolis. At the end of his first term he had the prestige of office, the advantage of greater acquaintance, and the additional organization strength resulting from federal patronage. Had it not been for the Court issue, McKinley might well have carried Cook County. But would he have carried the state? In the face of farmer protest, to which we have already alluded,⁵ it is extremely doubtful. Hence we may finally conclude that in defeating McKinley the people knew what they were about. Whether they acted intelligently and wisely is quite another question, and one which, in view of the essential irrationality of the main features of the campaign, we are constrained to answer in the negative.

2. *Deneen-Lundin versus Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-Thompson*.—Following the same procedure as in the case of Smith and McKinley, let us list the factors working for the success of each of the groups.

⁵ See chap. viii.

DENEEN-LUNDIN

1. Past reputation for civic responsibility: good in the case of Deneen, but Small badly discredited and Lundin a serious liability
2. World Court issue: weakly defended by Deneen, but use of issue condemned as a "smoke-screen"
3. "Bi-Partisanship": substantially correct indictment of corrupt manipulation and maladministration by opponents; attempt to gain support on basis of loyalty to the Republican party not so successful
4. "Crime and Corruption": charges made substantially true
5. "Small-Lundin" issue: alliance with Small to control legislature denied; Lundin candidates on ticket defended as good men; Small

CROWE-BARRETT-BRUNDAGE-
THOMPSON

1. Past reputation for civic responsibility: Brundage in good repute, Barrett much respected in some quarters, Crowe feared but not respected, Thompson repudiated
2. World Court issue: greatly aided by Hearst and Smith propaganda; effectively made to appear a "patriotic issue"
3. "Bi-Partisanship": side-stepped rather than answered; Deneen accused of having been bi-partisan in past and on World Court vote. Claim of group to be regular an answer to plea of "Home Rule in the Republican party"
4. "Crime and Corruption": Governor Small's bad pardon and parole record claimed as reason for crime situation. Charge of criminal alliances left unanswered
5. "Small-Lundin" issue: Home Rule for Chicago said to be threatened by Small; Deneen and Small in a conspiracy to transfer

DENEEN-LUNDIN

said to be "not an issue" as he "has troubles enough of his own"

6. Newspaper support: no outstanding help; *Tribune*, *News*, *Post* condemned Small alliance. *Post* recommendations favor Deneen candidates. Hearst papers give much space to "crime" plea, threaten exposé but fail to carry out promise.
7. Special group appeals: no apparent results from such appeals
8. Support of civic agencies:
 - a) Better Government Association chooses Deneen candidates exclusively
 - b) Committee of 200 prefers Deneen list, though failing to indorse all of them
 - c) Bar Association approves nine Deneen candidates for judge out of leading twelve
9. Strength of organization:
 - a) Patronage
 - Deneen offices (est. worth)..... 4
 - Small offices, help given worth about. 4
 - Total patronage strength 8

CROWE-BARRETT-BRUNDAGE-THOMPSON

government to Springfield. Deneen allied with discredited Lundin

6. Newspaper support: Hearst anti-Court propaganda most useful. *Tribune* anti-Court stand helpful. *American* for Thompson and probably rest of ticket. *Tribune* for Barrett; *News* bitterly attacks Crowe
7. Special group appeals: some support from labor and ex-service groups
8. Support of civic agencies: mostly opposed to this group. Only two judicial candidates approved by Bar Association. Defense offered that "reformers" are mere selfish notoriety-seekers. Discrediting of B.G.A. by Brennan affair helps this group
9. Strength of organizations:
 - a) Patronage
 - Crowe-Barrett-Brundage, about... 10
 - Small offices, help given worth about. 4
 - Total patronage strength 14

DENEEN-LUNDIN	CROWE-BARRETT-BRUNDAGE- THOMPSON
b) Wards clearly controlled 7	b) Wards clearly controlled30
Wards evenly divided.13	Wards evenly divided.13
Opponents' wards having strong minority. .less than half	Opponents' wards in which minority is strongmost
c) Control of election machinery: worth 15,000 to 25,000 votes	c) First place in the filings: worth 15,000 to 25,000 votes
10. Corruption: considerable trading of candidates; many votes "miscounted"	10. Corruption: trades and "miscounts" very numerous on West and near South Sides.

The foregoing analysis does not, of course, take into account all the elements in the election which have been referred to in the preceding discussions, but the most important are included. The factors numbered 1, 3, 4, and 8 were favorable to the Deneen-Lundin chances; those numbered 2, 5, 7, 9 and 10 should be credited to the other side. The newspaper influence was perhaps evenly divided, if anything helping the Crowe camp. Excluding 9 and 10, which we may term organization influence, the so-called issues about strike a balance. As has been suggested frequently, the Deneen group could succeed only by considerable help from the uncontrolled voters, the "newspaper vote." Its appeal to this element was so weakened by the Small-Lundin alliance that the help was not forthcoming. Had the Small organization supported Deneen wholeheartedly, his organization might not have been so inferior, in spite of the fact that

the opposition controlled most of the county patronage and hence could put a large army of workers into the field to confront the rather scanty Deneen battalions. But Small had his own fish to fry. Hence we see his forces divided, leaving Deneen to his fate. The Deneen wards were not more than seven in number: the Tenth, brought into the Deneen fold by Moynihan and Wolff, the Fourteenth, Thomas J. Healy's ward, the Seventeenth, Deneen's own, the Nineteenth, with Cruden and McGilvray in charge, the Thirty-eighth, Joe Haas' ward, the Fortieth, where Devine was strong, and the Forty-ninth, with Laubenheimer as manager of the Deneen forces. James A. Kearns could not carry his ward, the Sixteenth, nor could Litsinger carry the Forty-third. The central South Side wards had much Deneen strength, but may be regarded as good fighting groups. This group of divided wards may be said to include wards 5-9, 15, 16, 18, 28, 36-39, and 41. The rest were clearly in the hands of the opposition. The near South and middle West Side wards furnished the greatest strength to this organization, the very districts, it is interesting to note, which include the vast majority of the foreign-language groups.

Much of interest can be obtained from a closer analysis of the ward vote for the leading candidates. We note for instance, that Trude ran considerably ahead of his ticket. He actually carried half of the wards, the whole northern end and the whole southern end of the city. Savage's strength was entirely on the West and near North and South sides. Again, the Brundage wards generally went for Trude, indicating that some trading

went on in these quarters, very likely because the Brundage people did not want Savage. Harding displayed great personal strength, particularly on the South Side, where he himself had been dictator for so many years. The fairest tests of factional strength were, first, the Trude-Savage fight, second, Hitzman versus Laubheimer, a straight Crowe-Barrett-Deneen contest, Harding versus Devine, and the contests for places on the Sanitary Board. The majorities of the winners varied from 20,000 to 100,000. If an average were struck we would find this to be about what might be expected from the differences in organization strength between the two combinations. Spoils artillery and not principle determined the result of the county primary struggle.

DOES THE RESULT OF THE PRIMARY SHOW INTELLIGENT VOTING?

To answer this question makes it necessary to set a standard of intelligence in voting. Opinions may differ, indeed they did widely differ on this point. For our purposes it is enough to ask: Were the best-qualified candidates selected, in every instance, or in a substantial proportion of cases? But here again opinions differed as to who were the best-qualified persons. Let us begin with the recommendations of the Citizens' Committee of 200, whose advice was most carefully considered, and hence most reliable. It found only twenty-seven Republicans fully qualified for the offices they sought. For county clerk and for clerk of the Criminal Court both the Deneen and the Crowe-Barrett nominees were approved. The latter won. Trude was recommended for county

judge, Guernsey and Albert for sanitary trustee, Laubenheimer, Graham, Devine, and Boyer for the offices sought by them. All were defeated. Busse, given indorsement, won in the country districts for his seat on the County Board, but lost to Boutell for Board president. The latter, however, was also recommended. For city members of the County Board, five Crowe-Barrett and three Deneen men were found to be competent; only the former gained the nominations. For country-district commissioner five Deneen and two Crowe-Barrett men were declared to be fit. One of the latter lost, allowing three unrecommended indorsees of his faction to be nominated. On the Democratic side, ten O'Connell-Dunne Democrats were approved by the committee. All lost, Judge Jarecki being the sole Democratic nominee whom the committee regarded as qualified.

What of the recommendations of the Bar Association? Here, as we have noted, three Deneen nominees slipped in, but of the twelve nominees only four had been among the twelve winners of the bar primary. On the Democratic side three Democracy of Illinois candidates had won in the bar vote. We have noted in another place that more than half of the indorsees of the Legislative Voters' League were defeated.⁶

Without going farther, it seems apparent that the voters did not make use of the recommendations of the civic groups, and if that be a criterion of intelligence, the voters acted unintelligently. Was there any discrimination at all? Holmes defeated Hough for probate judge, the former having been indorsed by the Bar Association.

⁶ See chap. ix.

Here was a clear case of the better man winning. But it was well known that the Crowe group was indifferent to Hough. Horner, the Brennan man, was slated to win his post. In the state-wide vote, Kinney defeated Small's man Stratton. Here the issue between the two had been thoroughly made known to the voters. Vail's victory over Lee for clerk of the Supreme Court was a deserved one. The sitting congressman-at-large deserved to win. But here the story ends. The majority of the nominations on the Republican ticket went to men pledged to perpetuate the lowest standards of official conduct, to maintain a degrading system of patronage and spoils, to exploit rather than serve the public. And what can be said of the overwhelming Brennan victory as a comment on the civic sense of Cook County democracy? The most flattering explanation is that the Democratic constituency was unaware of the meaning and purposes of Brennan Tammanyism.

MEANING OF THE PRIMARY

What, then, did the primary mean? If it was not an occasion on which the voters displayed their intelligence, what sentiment, opinion, judgment, or emotion was expressed by the 600,000 voters who took the trouble to come to the polls April 13? Here again as many opinions were expressed as there were different utterances. To the *Tribune* it was a rebuke to internationalism and a repudiation of Governor Small—both opposed by that journal. The *Post* found in the whole election only an expression of political bewilderment. "It was a factional fight yesterday, and the citizen who used his eclectic in-

telligence simply didn't have a show. The rival political wigwags were out to tomahawk one another, and the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson tribe got the most scalps." It hoped that a decline in the influence of Small and Lundin would follow, and believed that Deneen tied a millstone around the necks of his ticket by that unholy alliance. The *News*, too, saw in the Crowe-Barrett-Thompson victory the effect of the "dead weight of Governor Small." But it also recognized the fact that the success of the latter was due to its control of powerful public offices and its alliance with the local Democratic machine. It believed, as did also the *Tribune*, that the World Court uproar helped the local Home Rulers. The result of all this was that "a county ticket that was mainly excellent went down to defeat." The *American* was of course enthusiastic over the success of its favorites. But the *Herald and Examiner*, while declaring that the primary had made possible a clear-cut decision between Smith and McKinley on the World Court question, asserted that in other respects "the primaries are practically meaningless. . . . They show only that the voters did not want the World Court, and feared anybody in alliance with an organization whose head supported entrance to the court."⁷

Mr. Crowe, who should have known better than any other man the meaning of his triumph, rejoiced, after the election, that he could now be sure that his sons would not be drafted to fight in Europe on foreign quarrels. But somewhat later, when he was under fire in the McSwiggin affair, he declared that "in the primary Rob-

⁷ For quotations see papers, April 14-16.

ert E. Crowe was the issue. The opposition charged me with everything, although I was not a candidate. I accepted the challenge and all the candidates supported by me were victorious. The people of this county thereby expressed their confidence in me and their lack of confidence in the opposition."⁸

Mr. Crowe was partly right. The primary was in form a referendum on the otherwise irresponsible factional nominations for which his group and the Deneen-Lundin group were the sponsors. But he should have added that it was a referendum in which the voters were asked to perform tasks for which they were utterly incompetent, conducted under a system which rendered intelligent action impossible, in which only half of those qualified were sufficiently interested to participate, and which was heavily loaded by spoils and corruption against an honest outcome. In accepting his statement at anything like its face value the people of Cook County were, as the *News* once said, "allowing themselves to be kidded by an expert—an expert of no distinction whatever!"

However we may interpret the meaning of the primary, it did not reflect much credit upon the citizens of Cook County. It is clear not merely that the choices of the voters were largely unintelligent, but that the whole election was an illustration of irrational behavior on their part. Such a situation, whether or not it may be regarded as ammunition for the critics of democracy, at least overwhelmingly affirms the necessity of a thor-

⁸ *Tribune*, July 30.

ough reconsideration of the existing electoral framework.

THE BURDENSOME BALLOT

Prime among the factors which produced unintelligent voting in this primary must be placed the long ballot. The disadvantages attending the necessity of voting for long lists of candidates have been expounded fully and need not here be repeated. Let us call attention here simply to the technical difficulties confronting the Cook County voter. The Republican and Democratic ballots were long strips, 12 inches wide and 31 inches long.⁹ The Republican ballot used in the city contained 151 names, the Democratic ballot 106 names. While the absence of long lists of names such as are found at elections when presidential electors are chosen and of referendum propositions deprived these ballots of the complexity sometimes seen, it should not be overlooked that propositions were also voted on at this election. They were, however, printed on separate ballots, one 12 by 24 inches, containing nineteen bond-issue propositions referred by the City Council, and a "little ballot," 8 by 5 inches, on which the proposition to adopt the optional boxing bill was placed. Of the voting on the propositions the *Journal* aptly remarked that "voting on public expenditures and public policies Tuesday was equal to making a will, writing farewell messages to all one's friends, reading the Declaration of Independence

⁹ See Appendix A. There was a third ballot, that of the Progressive party, which had qualified for the primary because of the vote for LaFollette in 1924. Since it cast but 706 votes in Chicago it has been ignored in this discussion.

and the Constitution, ordering the groceries, doing the spring housecleaning and obtaining a passport—all in the five minutes a voter was permitted to stay in the booth.¹⁰

Concerning the voting for long lists of candidates, the *Post* expressed a sound judgment.

No primary system will ever work as long as we try to nominate by this process every official . . . from poundkeeper to President. . . . Securing the short ballot should be the next step. . . . We now suggest and urge that the civic organizations of Chicago get together in an immediate effort to lay the basis for short ballot legislation at the next session of the legislature.

A campaign for the short ballot will lead to consideration of further steps such as the revision of our primary system and the elimination of the party ticket in judicial and municipal elections. But a good and fundamental beginning may be made with the short ballot.¹¹

This verdict, it may be said without further comment, is fully confirmed by the results of the present study.

MINORITY NOMINATIONS

Fear that nominations by plurality vote would disrupt the party organizations was prevalent in the formative period of primary legislation in Illinois. It will be interesting to note if this primary produced any striking illustrations of minority nominations. Surveying the returns, we arrive at the following conclusions.

1. In general the system of factional politics, as it has developed in Cook County, tends to eliminate independent candidates and thus make minority nominations infrequent. The greater number of candidates ap-

¹⁰ *Journal*, April 15.

¹¹ Editorial, April 14.

pearing on the ballot but not indorsed by a recognized faction were either dummies, placed there to detract from the strength of an opponent, or else professional candidates or notoriety-seekers. In this primary, as far as could be ascertained, no genuine independent movement existed. In the case of municipal judges, where it was felt that a non-factional candidate might have a chance, there were some genuine candidates, and this was also true of the two state offices: treasurer and congressman-at-large, where factional influences did not predominate. In Cook County, however, it was apparently recognized that factional indorsement was essential to success, and, as in general admitted, bi-factionalism is the best safeguard against minority nominations in the primary.¹²

2. In the Democratic primary, all nominations were by majority. The Brennan slate had so little opposition that no contest was sufficiently close to produce a minority choice.

3. In the Republican primary a few nominations were by minority. For state treasurer there were four candidates. Kinney received a majority over all in Cook County, and only slightly less than a majority in the state-wide vote. Though there were six candidates for two places as congressman-at-large, both Rathbone and Yates received majorities. For president of the County Board, the votes given Gudgel and Blaine reduced Boutell's vote to slightly less than a majority. For the twelve candidates for sanitary trustee, 399,873 votes

¹² See B. H. Williams, "Prevention of Minority Nominations," *Ann. Amer. Acad.* (March, 1923), p. 111.

were cast, requiring 199,937 for a majority. King and Eller were well beyond this mark, Graydon slightly behind it. Thirteen candidates, besides those slated for county commissioner in the city, threatened to produce minority choices. A majority of the votes cast for this office was 161,536, and only two of the winners failed to get it. A vote of 36,503 was necessary for majority nomination for county commissioner outside Chicago; two of those nominated fell below this vote. Finally, for municipal judge, there were 17 unslated candidates; 158,105 votes were required for a majority. Only the top three received as many. In all the remaining offices, though there were a few minor candidates, majority nominations occurred.

Reviewing this whole situation, there does not seem to have been any basis for objection on the ground that the will of the majority did not prevail. A more obvious evil was the presence of dummy candidates on the ballot, put there for the express purpose of confusing the voter. It would be helpful to eliminate these, but if the number of signatures required on petitions was increased, or some other device adopted to make it harder to secure a place on the ballot, the independent candidates would be still further discouraged, and since any of the factional organizations could meet such a requirement without difficulty, the tendency would be to throw the control of the primary still farther into their hands. We can only conclude that this is another difficulty which only public vigilance can surmount. If the voter cannot distinguish between the genuine and the fraudulent candidate, no mechanism can help him.

PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

What light does this campaign throw on the oft-repeated charge that the direct primary destroys party responsibility and disrupts party organization? An answer to this question should properly be based on a survey covering a period of years, but this single primary was not without illuminating aspects.

1. In the first place it is clear that the primary law has not secured responsible party leadership through the election of party officials. While state and senatorial committeemen are elected in accordance with the law, they tend to be lost on the long ballot, and "election" apparently means no more than ratification of the selections of the existing organization. Even if there is a factional contest, the nominees are, in most cases, minor party hacks, and the uninstructed voter has never heard of them. Thus the organization vote settles the controversy. This is certainly far from a popularization of the party machinery.

The conventions held after the primary thoroughly demonstrated the bankruptcy of this method of securing party responsibility. Three Republican county conventions were held in Cook County, one being the Crowe-Barrett 1916 committee, the second a portion of the 1920 committee called together by Andrew Metzger, vice-chairman (the late Francis Brady had been chairman), which turned out, owing to shifts in allegiance, to have a majority of the votes of this committee, and, finally, the "rump" of the 1920 committee, the Small group summoned by Charles J. Peters, secretary of the committee.

The Democratic county and state conventions were harmonious and enthusiastic enough to suit a rabid partisan. As we have noted, the Brennan machine was well constructed, loyal, and efficient. How far could it be said to be responsible? To the observer the impulse of control appeared to come from Brennan and his immediate coterie of followers, not from the rank and file. The O'Connell-Dunne protest may have amounted to little, but their criticisms struck at the heart of the matter.

The truth of the matter undoubtedly is that the voter cannot, with all the will in the world, perform the double task of selecting a formidable group of elective officials and at the same time choosing so-called "party leaders" concerning whose functions he knows little—less if possible than he knows about those of the officers he is choosing. This does not mean that direct nominations should cease, since the evil might yield to other remedies. Managing committees might be named by the party candidates acting jointly after the primary. Conventions to form platforms should largely be made up of the nominees who must run on them. Greater use should be made of the device of the party conference, in which programs could be discussed, available candidates brought to notice, though not nominated, and a sense of party unity developed.¹³ Freed from the routine of organization work, such meetings might usefully develop the social and civic aspects of party life and gradually build up healthy substitutes for the bogus enthusiasm

¹³ See "Nominating Systems" by C. E. Merriam, in *Ann. Amer. Acad.* (March, 1923), p. 1.

and false camaraderie of the present type of political gatherings, which too often but poorly cloak a sordid spoils situation.

2. Next we may inquire, if, failing party harmony through elected party leaders, essential unity has been secured in other ways. Is there a real "Republican party" in Cook County? Is there a "Democratic party"? Has the direct primary left these groups enough coherence for them to assume any responsibility to the voters and be held accountable as such for their acts?

As far as the Democrats are concerned, whatever may have been the case in other primaries, little doubt could exist that Mr. Brennan's group was entitled to speak for the county democracy. The rank and file had an excellent opportunity to rebuke his leadership, but it simply did not take it. The Republicans present quite another situation. The incompatibility of the Crowe and the Deneen elements was an outstanding feature of the situation, and to those who listened to the excoriations of one by spokesmen of the other, it would seem inconceivable that they could ever unite to prosecute a joint campaign in the general election. The situation precipitated by the recount emphasized this hostility. Judge Trude admitted that he was "digging his political grave" by pressing for a recount. Mr. Crowe and Mr. Savage used every legal recourse to prevent the ballot boxes from being reopened. The Democrats looked on with ill-concealed delight at the prospect of election day approaching without its being certain who the Republican candidates were. Had the nominations been made in a convention, all of the fighting would have been confined

to that one occasion instead of being spread over a period of nine or ten months, and the wounds would not have been so severe that they could not have been healed in time for Deneenites, Lundinites, and Home Rulers to join amicably in the general engagement with the Democrats in November.

All this may be granted, but something may be said on the other side. The direct primary did not create the Republican factions. Lorimer, Busse, and Deneen waged bitter fights before there was a direct primary, and it must not be forgotten that the debacle of party factionalism in the conventions of 1904 sealed the fate of the older form of nominations. Many believe, as Mr. Barrett asserted on one occasion during this campaign, that factional contests have been more bitter and acute under the direct system. Party harmony and party responsibility, however, are not identical and it is paying too dear a price to purchase the former at the expense of the latter. There is little in the record of these groups to lead us to think that they will pay any greater respect to the public's interest than they are compelled to. The "party harmony" achieved in a secret caucus freed of popular referendum may be only another name for "addition, division, and silence."

It is still pertinent to ask those who "view with alarm" the disruption of parties in the county just what place a national party has in the county, after all. However important it may be to maintain organizations that will function in harmony with national party life, the local units of the national parties, when they assume to control local government, must answer to the local con-

stituency for their performance of that function, and if caught red-handed with spoils, it is no defense that "the party must be preserved."

Party factionalism is in itself neither bad nor good. We think nothing of such divisions in the national arena. A "McAdoo wing" and a "Smith wing" or the "Progressives" vs. the "Old Guard" seem natural enough. If, in the local field, these groups served the purpose of presenting contesting views of local policy, we would commend their usefulness. If they reveal themselves as mere contenders for spoils and brokers of office, we are wiser for the knowledge. At all events, the primary election forces them into the open. The real difficulty, the real obstacle to responsible government is not the fact that the primary sharpens the feuds within the party but rather that a governmental situation exists which permits the perpetuation of spoils politics. Senator Deneen struck the right keynote in his slogan "the important issue in our local campaign is Good Government," but even he, and much more the other factions, failed to realize and apply its implications. Those who view party success as the *summum bonum* may deplore the revelations of conscienceless turpitude which this primary and its sequel made possible, but those who believe that the interests of the master are paramount to those of the servant could hardly regard them as other than a wholesome warning of the need of thorough political house-cleaning.

If greater party harmony along national lines is desired, perhaps the correct solution is to divorce the national parties altogether from contests that are purely

local in character. This has been done with great success in the election of aldermen, and there is no logical objection to its extension to the entire field of city and county affairs. Again, the general purification of the political atmosphere which would follow the removal of the spoils incentive would make possible a healthier response on the part of local leaders to the requirements of sound government.¹⁴

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

One of the chief indictments against the direct primary being the expense involved in securing nominations, the use of money in this hard-fought campaign is peculiarly interesting. Both the senatorial and factional candidates were particularly secretive on this matter, and little information would have become available had it not been for the senatorial investigation of the Smith-McKinley contest. The senate committee presided over by Reed of Missouri and containing Senators LaFollette, McNary, Goff, and King was instituted to inquire into the Pennsylvania slush-funds poured out to aid Pepper, Vare, and Pinchot, but the rumors of similar scandals in Illinois brought the inquisitors to Chicago for an inquiry lasting from July 26 till August 5.¹⁵ Much illuminating information was secured from the witnesses, who included many of the leaders in the local campaign as well as the chief protagonists of Smith and McKinley.

A favorite jibe of "Bill" Thompson's was that "Mc-

¹⁴ On non-partisan nominations see R. E. Cushman, "Non-Partisan Nominations and Elections," *Ann. Amer. Acad.* (March, 1923), p. 83.

¹⁵ For the data cited in the following paragraphs see the newspapers of this period.

Kinley was on his second million." The testimony of Andrew Russel, Chester A. Willoughby, and Henry I. Green, McKinley's managers—the senator being too ill to appear—scarcely bore out that hardy assumption. McKinley's total was placed at \$354,616.72, and the trend of the testimony seemed to warrant belief that nothing had been withheld. Mr. Green, who acted as treasurer, testified that McKinley had placed in his hands \$525,000 for use in the campaign, and that more of this would have been expended had it seemed expedient.

The Smith figure was placed by the colonel himself at \$253,547, itemized as follows:

Hotel, rent, and expenses . . .	\$12,923.51
Office supplies	1,564.20
Stationery	3,652.72
Office salaries	13,051.92
Form letters	6,461.63
Express	1,238.39
Telephone and telegraph . . .	1,413.62
Printing	20,550.51
Lists of voters	935.90
Billboard advertising	17,260.44
Lithograph posting	4,338.96
Signs, bands, badges, etc. . . .	5,855.00
Newspaper advertising	8,179.07
Program advertising	2,607.44
Postage	25,293.39
Service men's expenses	8,389.88
Field men's salaries	18,765.38
Field men's expenses	12,015.00
Field women's salaries	4,055.00
Field women's expenses	7,436.04
Itinerary expense (Smith canvass)	5,741.98

County organization . . .	58,747.68
Automobiles and expenses .	3,503.79
Miscellaneous	9,566.06

In the county campaign the admitted factional expenditures were as follows:

Deneen county ticket . .	\$130,894.63
Crowe-Barrett ticket . .	171,500.00
Brennan Democratic ticket .	20,841.42

The sums just mentioned total a few cents under \$931,400. Since this amount does not include Mr. In-sull's expenditure of \$33,735 in anti-World Court propaganda, the outlay of the Small-Lundin interests, or the expenditures of ward organizations from money raised by them,¹⁶ we are safe in saying that the total outlay in

¹⁶ The ward clubs usually had their own treasuries, supplied by dues, assessments, and the proceeds of entertainments. These funds were supplemented during the campaign by appropriations from the central treasury for meetings, canvasses, and the payment of watchers and workers on election day. Mr. Galpin, chairman of the Crowe-Barrett committee, testified to the Reed committee that his organization distributed between \$80,000 and \$85,000 among the ward committeemen, enough for \$25 for each precinct, with more for certain localities. In his own ward, the Twenty-seventh, \$4,000 was expended from the club treasury, \$1,000 to \$1,500 of his own money, besides \$1,000 received from Louis J. Behan and expended on behalf of Senator McKinley (*Tribune*, August 4). Edward H. Wright received \$2,900 from Mr. Galpin for use in the Second Ward, besides \$600 to make a canvass of the ward, \$500 for a similar canvass of the First Ward, \$80 to pay for a meeting, etc. (*Tribune*, July 29, 30). According to Mr. Healy, treasurer of the Deneen committee, about \$50,000 was spent by that group on poll workers on election day in Chicago, the workers being paid from \$5 to \$10 according to service rendered, the amount being left to the judgment of the ward leaders. Henry I. Green, Senator McKinley's attorney and chief custodian of the latter's campaign fund, stated that when negotiations were going on with the Crowe-Barrett group \$1,000 was mentioned as the amount that he would feel justified in spending in each ward that had an effective organization.

the senatorial and local campaigns was well in excess of a million dollars. These expenditures appeared modest in comparison with the \$800,114 spent on behalf of Congressman Vare in the Pennsylvania senatorial primary and the similar expense of \$1,804,979 for Senator Pepper, but when it is recalled that Senator Newberry's expense was only \$195,000, the Illinois figures take on considerable significance.

More important even than the amount spent was the source of the money. Senator McKinley financed his own campaign, refusing campaign contributions, and the amounts incidentally spent for him by others were placed at not to exceed \$5,000. Mr. Smith's campaign, on the other hand, was very heavily financed by the large utility interests. Mr. Smith and his campaign manager, Allen F. Moore, contributed \$78,117.51; all but \$3,400 of the remainder came from the three utility magnates, Samuel Insull, Ira D. Copley, and Clement L. Studebaker. We have already alluded to the fact that these revelations placed Mr. Smith in a very unfavorable light. The *News* regarded Mr. Smith's excuses as merely "the regular formula employed by perspiring politicians when called upon to make explanations under embarrassing circumstances," and declared further that the utility gifts to Smith's campaign "flagrantly violate the essentials of the code of public, governmental, and business ethics. There is no escaping by casuistry from that stubborn and unpleasant fact."¹⁷ The *Tribune* went so far as to say that "the payment to the Smith campaign, and the acceptance on his part, constitute

¹⁷ *News*, August 7.

bribery and corruption.”¹⁸ Senator Reed himself, after looking up the Illinois law, found that Smith’s acceptance of utility money while a member of the Commerce Commission was a misdemeanor under the statutes and rendered Smith liable to be dismissed from his office.¹⁹

Some interesting information concerning the sources of local campaign funds also appeared in the testimony. Mr. Insull contributed \$10,000 each to the Deneen and Crowe-Barrett campaign funds and \$15,000 to his “friend, George Brennan.” Mr. McKinley gave \$30,000 to the Deneen funds and \$19,000 to Louis J. Behan to spend through various Crowe-Barrett organizations, though the latter declared that he returned \$2,000 of this sum. On the Deneen side \$46,110 was contributed by candidates, and of the Crowe-Barrett funds \$35,000 came from a like source. Through William Hale Thompson, \$25,000 of Smith money found its way into the Crowe-Barrett treasury. Mr. McKinley also contributed \$15,000 to Percy B. Coffin of the Lundin organization, but the other expenditures of this group were not revealed. Mr. Lundin was placed on the stand, but displayed childlike innocence as to most of the events of the campaign. Mr. Coffin was expected to be a witness, but was not available. Senator Reed declared that no evidence had appeared connecting Governor Small with the senatorial campaign, therefore his activities would not be inquired into. Thus was lost any chance of an investigation of the governor’s alleged million-dollar “slush fund.”

Much reticence was displayed by a number of the

¹⁸ *Tribune*, August 9.

¹⁹ *News*, August 7.

witnesses relative to expenditures on the local campaign. Mr. Insull and his attorney, Daniel Schuyler, persistently refused to discuss contributions to local factions. Edward H. Wright would not reveal the sums collected by his ward organization, and State's Attorney Crowe absolutely refused to account for the sources of money used in the campaign for Joseph P. Savage for the nomination for county judge. Mr. Crowe's attitude annoyed Senator Reed, who declared that he could understand Mr. Insull's reluctance to speak, but that he was unable to conceive of any reason why a public official should refuse to disclose the source or disposition of moneys used in a public election. Senator Reed indicated that Insull, Schuyler, and Crowe would be reported to the Senate for contempt.

The relation of these heavy expenditures to the system of nominations attracted much attention at this time. In the minds of many the revelations in Pennsylvania and Illinois supplied a new and overwhelming argument for the repeal of the direct primary. Senator Pepper, the defeated incumbent in the former state, was strongly in favor of such a step; petitions for a constitutional amendment to restore the convention were filed in Ohio. Much Illinois sentiment agreed with the opinion expressed by the *Chicago Journal*:

The nation ended the possibility of purchase of a senatorship from venal legislators, but we are saddled with the primary, once held up as an ideal political expedient, but with its supposed advantages now proven to be a delusion and a snare, for it forces upon voter and candidate two campaigns, splits parties into factions and provokes a double warfare—one for control of the organization, the other for control of the office. Party solidarity,

encouraged by the old convention form of choosing candidates, no longer obtains, and rulership of a party, with its attendant mastery of patronage, now has become so rich a prize that men are willing to spend great fortunes to capture or to keep it.²⁰

It should be noted that the expenditures criticized were not corrupt, but merely the "legitimate" expenses of a canvass. In a statement made to the committee, Mr. Smith complained that the direct primary necessitated these huge outlays if a candidate wished to win, placing the amount that might legitimately be spent in a state-wide canvass at \$550,000. Before we allow the arguments adverse to the direct primary to go by default, we should recall the fact that the complaints which led to the abandonment of the convention also involved expenditure of money, and while the sums were not so large, they were in most cases secretly and corruptly used. Corruption may occur under the direct method, of course, but it is difficult to prevent it from coming to light, as Mr. Insull's contributions did in the present case. Moreover, if the convention system had been allowed to remain in force till the present day who can say to what new peak the devices of modern high-powered political salesmanship would have driven the use of money in that type of nominating technique?

The worst that can be said about the direct primary is that it has disappointed expectations; a statement which can be made with equal truth about most political remedies originally proclaimed as cure-alls. We should not assume, on that account, that there is no escape from the difficulties which have developed. Too much money

²⁰ Editorial, August 2.

is spent, it is true. But a limitation of campaign expenses has never been given a genuine trial. A resolution considered by the senate in June proposed that admission be refused candidates-elect who had spent over a certain sum. This plan has distinct possibilities. The possibility of official publicity through the campaign pamphlet, the government newspaper, or leased space in the press has hardly been sufficiently exploited. Moreover a general political housecleaning all along the line would be highly beneficial. One witness complained that the Illinois voters were in bad shape. "They won't do anything until they know what there is in it for them." There is a reason for this political indifferentism. May it not be that the voter sees little in the quality of the candidates offered or in the objectives pursued by them to warrant a belief that activity on his part in their behalf will serve the public interest? While no attempt can be made here to suggest comprehensive remedies for this state of affairs, a few points emerge with startling clearness. Little improvement, at least as far as Chicago and Cook County are concerned, can be expected until the governmental organization has been recast in the direction of simplicity and consolidation, with conspicuous responsibility and the short ballot, and until the spoils incentive is definitely and permanently removed by a complete and genuine installation of the merit system in the civil service. There is unassailable logic in the argument that if the spoils are removed from their grasp the corrupt politicians will be less eager to spend money to gain control of office. And, after all, much of the expenditures now

required to secure nominations in the local party primaries would be unnecessary under a governmental system involving only a few elective offices, and those filled by non-partisan election, with nomination by petition instead of by party primaries.

DEFECTS OF THE ELECTION SYSTEM

Quite apart from any objection that may be taken to the whole system of nominations by direct primary, this election reveals many defects in the election system itself, some of them peculiar to the primary, some equally germane to the general election.

1. *System of registration.*—An adequate description and criticism of the registration system would require a separate study. It may be noted, however, that the history of registration laws referring to Cook County is more complicated even than that of primary legislation. We have noted that incompatibility with the registration laws or defective provision for registration resulted in two Illinois primary laws being declared void. The practice of registration in the precincts, followed by precinct revisions, challenges, hearing before the election commission, with appeals to the courts, is entirely too complicated and opens innumerable avenues for fraud. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that this system is retained for the express purpose of making manipulation of the registrations for corrupt purposes easy. A central registration law was passed in 1917, and put into operation by County Judge Scully and his Election Board, who professed themselves immensely pleased with the way the new machinery worked. Through care-

lessness or collusion, however, the engrossed and enrolled bill sent to Governor Lowden for signature omitted fourteen Senate amendments concurred in by the House. Under these circumstances the Supreme Court held it unconstitutional. The return to the earlier system was reported to have cost Chicago \$500,000 a year in additional election expenses.²¹ The 1925 legislature passed another central registration law, but this was vetoed by Governor Small. County Judge Jarecki recommended this measure, and the Legislative Voters' League aided in its passage. While the revision of the registration prior to this primary was going on, Election Commissioner Czarnecki pointed out that a central registration bureau would now save Chicago \$1,000,000 a year.

The poll books could be kept open continually and new registrations would be needful only every four years. If, in the meantime, a voter moved, all he would have to do would be to make that fact known to the central bureau and the books would be changed accordingly.²²

It has been suggested that a permanent registration, kept constantly revised by the local police, as in England, would be the proper solution to this difficulty. With a police force entirely above suspicion this suggestion would have much to commend it. It is inconceivable that Chicagoans, in their senses, will permit registration of voters—which should be a quiet unspectacular enrolment—to continue a football for the fraudulent manipu-

²¹ *Legislative Voters' League Assembly Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 30, February, 1918.

²² Cf. *Post*, editorial, March 30.

lators. A central registration law, or other satisfactory system, should be immediately instituted.²³

2. *Filing of nomination petitions.*—The “filing scramble,” which we have described, is a travesty on honesty and impartiality. The “indignation” of the county clerk at being charged with favoritism would appear to be inconceivable effrontery, if it were not on a par with the general level of political honesty among the “bi-partisans.” There is no defensible reason for the backwardness of Chicago and Illinois in adopting the recognized standards of practice in ballot construction. Even if filings were permitted to be made openly, without collusion, there is no justification for rewarding the first comer with a bonus of from 15,000 to 25,000 votes. It was no accident that while 10,000 votes separated the lowest Crowe-Barrett candidate for county commissioner from the highest Deneen candidate—no rotation occurring here—three Deneen men secured judicial nominations. Rotation is of course more important where there are several nominations to be made for one group of offices, but if the long ballot is to be retained at all, the principle should be generally applied.

3. *The election machinery. Casting and counting the vote.*—

a) *Election officials:* The frauds forecasted by expert observers prior to the primary, and committed to an even greater degree than anticipated, while due in the first instance to the spoils system and criminal politics, could not occur without the connivance of the judges and

²³ See *A Proposed System of Registering Voters . . . in Chicago*, Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 1923.

clerks of election. This fact raises serious question concerning the wisdom of the existing method for officering the polls. In the early days of primary legislation, the political "powers that were" refused to enact a primary law that would not permit the officials to be named by the party committees practically without supervision. The 1897 primary bill, in fact, was rejected largely because it allowed the county judge to appoint these officials. Evidently the political leaders of that day accepted implicitly Mr. Dooley's maxim: "I don't care who casts the ballots so long as you let me count 'em." The present system of appointment introduces some safeguards against the appointment of venal polls officials. The recommendations of the party committees, passed on by the party representative or representatives on the election commission, and appointed by the county judge, were given enough publicity so that an active electorate could have eliminated the unfit and corrupt. Following the usual formalities—each official being required to appear before the Election Board and fill out an application and examination blank under oath—the names of the appointees were published, accompanied by an urgent request from Judge Jarecki and the Board that voters of each precinct scrutinize the names carefully and appear before the court within four days to protest the appointment of those believed to be unqualified. Few citizens, however, would go to that amount of trouble. In effect the officials were named by the precinct committeemen of the factional organization recognized for that purpose by the Election Commission. This had the effect, as we have noted at various points in our study, of

making the county judgeship a major political prize. Under Judge Jarecki's régime, a Deneen Republican received the minority appointment on the Election Board, and hence Deneen committeemen were allowed to name most of the judges and clerks. Mr. Crowe's eagerness to dislodge Jarecki and elect Savage is quite understandable. The *Tribune* went so far as to say that the conditions disclosed in the recount and accompanying grand jury investigation "prove, it seems to us, to any reasonable mind that the administration of the election commissioners' office has concerned itself with anything except honesty in elections."²⁴ This was not the verdict of the *Daily News*, which commended highly Judge Jarecki's efforts to keep the election honest. It seems rather that the existing system of conducting the election is one that can hardly be kept pure in the absence of a very active public opinion hostile to fraud. Suppose, for argument's sake, that the party committees were deprived entirely of the right to nominate election officials, as has often been suggested, by what procedure could four men, the judge and the three commissioners, assure themselves that they were wisely selecting the army of men and women needed, a total of 11,250? They would be nearly as helpless as the president of the United States when confronted with the task of appointing the postmaster in a distant hamlet in Texas. For the latter difficulty, the merit system offers a solution, but what form of merit system could be devised to select officials that serve, let us say, but six days in a year? It may be true that no mechanism can be devised that will insure hon-

²⁴ Editorial, July 14.

est elections in the face of public indifference. It is difficult to suggest a frontal attack on this problem. Its solution will depend upon the achievement of other reforms: the short ballot, reorganization, and simplification of local government, and, above all, raising the present level of political intelligence.

b) Voting procedure: Even with the notable improvements that have been introduced in the past twenty-five years, a polling place in Chicago still has something of a medieval aspect. When confronted with the necessity of immuring themselves behind faded curtains with only a flickering candle to illuminate the intricacies of a Chicago ballot, it is not surprising that voters, particularly semi-illiterate foreigners, lose heart, and accept too easily the suggestion of officious partisans among the officials—or perhaps even the watchers—that they be “assisted” in marking the ballot, or that often they bring the ballot out to the light of day, and use a convenient billiard table or store counter where such “assistance” is still more readily given, to say nothing of the loss of secrecy. In spite of the cases of violence reported in this primary, voting may be regarded as safe enough in Chicago, but the physical surroundings, in far too many cases, are not conducive to careful, deliberate voting. This is to be deplored; it is, however, a by-product of the present type of elections, and may be expected to disappear with them.

c) Counting the ballots: Two difficulties appear in this connection. While the election laws impose a procedure which, if strictly complied with, is sufficient to prevent improper tallying, the physical difficulties of the

task are so great that few election boards are sufficiently conscientious to observe the rules strictly. We have called attention to the numerous deviations from prescribed practice observed by watchers throughout the city. Exact tallying of the votes for the 151 candidates on the Republican city ballot, the 106 on the Democratic city ballot, the nineteen bond propositions, and the "little ballot," would have required a patience and persistence quite beyond the grasp of the average precinct official. Even with reasonably good intentions, inaccurate counting is more than probable. This being granted, the second difficulty arises. Since the precinct captains in effect name these officials, any disposition toward fraud on the part of the former will be reflected by the latter. A precinct captain, as matters stand, is a more important and influential person than a policeman, hence the presence of a police officer in the polls is an ineffective safeguard against stealthy fraud, though it may prevent actual violence. Courageous action by watchers of the opposing faction may avert gross abuses, but, as shown by the results of the recount, there was a prevailing tendency for the latter to compound the fraud by agreeing to a trade whereby favorite candidates of both factions received unearned votes. These difficulties are deeply rooted: the whole pattern of factional politics, the method of naming election officials, the long ballot—all must share in the responsibility.

4. *Loopholes in the law.*—Without attempting to point out all the abuses that might possibly arise under this heading, we may note a number actually revealed in this campaign.

a) *Voting for dead men*: The primary ballots contained the names of three dead men. The most important case was that of Francis P. Brady, clerk of the Appellate Court and also state committeeman, whose renomination for these places was approved by both Republican factions. Two others were Democratic candidates for senatorial committeeman, Charles Bennett in the Fifth District, and James O'Mally in the Seventh District. The county clerk's office, after much investigation, decided that there was no legal way of removing them.

b) *Other technicalities*: Various efforts were made to hold up the printing of the ballots on one pretext or another. Suits were instituted to exclude the names of Michael L. Igoe, Democratic candidate for representative in the Fifth District, and Adalbert H. R. Roberts, Republican candidate for senator in the Third District, from the ballot on the ground that they held offices already. Robert W. McKinlay, opponent of Cermak for nomination as president of the County Board, claimed that five additional names had been placed on the ballot for his position at Cermak's instigation merely to confuse the voter and obscure McKinlay's chances. He secured the removal of one of the names. The other suits, including one filed by Otto Ring asking the removal of Brady's name, failed. The printing of the ballots was held up several days by these suits. That they were possible suggests that many clauses of the primary law require amendment in the direction of greater precision.

DECLARATION OF PARTY AFFILIATION

Without entering into a debate concerning the relative wisdom of open and closed primaries, it may be noted that the present primary was much less of a "closed" one than contemplated by the law. The purpose of the two-year rule was of course to restrict participation to those actually belonging to the party. We have explained how Democrats were able to vote in the Republican primaries on this occasion and have quoted estimates of the number who actually did so. If the primaries are to be kept as *party* primaries at all, it would seem advisable to make the provision concerning declaration of affiliation more rigid and effective. Many devices to effect this end can be found in the practices of other states.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

We have now reached the point at which a survey may be made of the findings reached in this study of the Chicago primary of 1926.

1. The Illinois primary laws—general and legislative—were enacted after a long struggle in which the conservative politicians resisted each change, both in the legislature and in the courts. Two “delegate primary” laws and one direct primary law were held invalid before definitive laws were obtained in 1910. These were revised in 1913. A substitute law in 1919 also failed to meet the test of the courts. With only a few alterations the system remains as revised in 1913. The uncertainty of its constitutional basis is indicated by the fact that suits to test both the general and legislative laws are pending in the courts in 1926.

2. The outstanding characteristic of the political situation in Chicago and Cook County is the existence of well-defined factional groups, the Democratic party largely monopolized by one faction, but the Republicans divided into competing groups—from three to five—tending to fuse into two at the time of primary elections. This factionalism existed before the establishment of the direct primary, and has merely readjusted its technique to the new situation. While based on personal leadership, these factions owe their continuance to the persistence of the system of political spoils, patronage,

and perquisites made possible by the complicated and unmanageable governmental system including the election of long lists of officials, the absence of a complete merit system of appointments, and consequent public indifference.

3. Under these conditions the making of nominations falls into two stages: first, the selection by the rival party factions of complete "slates" or tickets, and second, a campaign of appeals to the party electorates in which each group urges the choice of its entire ticket. The first stage resembles closely the selection of a slate by a caucus of party leaders under the older convention method of nomination. The second stage amounts to no more than a ratification, in whole or part, of the preferred factional slate, independents being unable to compete against the slated candidates with their strong factional backing. Where a single dominant faction exists in a party, the second stage is entirely meaningless, and there is, in effect, no "direct" primary at all, the organization being constrained only by the publicity attending the election and the fear of the rise of competing factions. A sharp factional contest between competing groups at least gives the party voters an opportunity to select the better-qualified candidates, but too often both slates are made up of men who are unfit for public office.

4. Prevented by their nature and objectives from basing their appeals on considerations of good citizenship, the groups conducted campaigns employing violent and exaggerated charges against each other, often founded in truth, together with "issues" largely presuming an ignorant and irrational electorate. Leading illus-

trations of this type of election argument were: urging the nomination of county officials because they professed to be opposed to the World Court, or because they were loyal to the national Republican party; urging the rejection of an entire slate because a few candidates on it were associated with a discredited governor, or because of a suspicion of criminal alliances on the part of its leaders. In the senatorial contest the World Court issue was argued upon a low level of prejudice, mass emotion, and ignorance. The result of these appeals seemed to warrant the opinion of the electorate implied by their use.

5. The appeal to need of good government, while given minor recognition by factional utterances, was chiefly advanced by civic agencies, including the newspapers. These appeals, while intelligent and well considered, failed to produce noticeable results. This failure was generally ascribed to the fact that "good citizens" are unorganized, and that headway against strong factions can be made only by organizations equally strong.

In addition to these general observations, an analytical survey of the campaign reveals these additional important conclusions.

1. In spite of the acuteness of the factional struggle, public indifference was not overcome, only about half of the qualified voters participating in the primary.

2. The victory of Smith was due to popular sentiment in his favor, developed, however, by appeals to prejudice, fear, and ignorance rather than to intelligent consideration of the real issues.

3. The victory of the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage-

Thompson faction was due to the greater strength of its organization, based on superior control of spoils and patronage. The so-called issues advanced by each faction were substantially equal in effectiveness, thus neutralizing each other.

4. Voting was indiscriminate and unintelligent, and the primary practically meaningless as an expression of public opinion.

5. The long ballot, created by the complicated governmental system, places burdens upon the voter which he cannot possibly bear, creating a travesty on popular government.

6. Minority nominations, once feared as a menace to the direct primary system, did not appear to any substantial extent, owing to the predominance of strong factions and the absence of independent candidates.

7. The primary law has failed to secure elective party leadership. It sharpens factionalism within the party, but this is not a serious objection, particularly as national parties have little place in a local contest.

8. An expenditure of about a million dollars in the senatorial and local primaries was exposed by the Reed investigating committee. Much criticism of the direct primary was evoked by these revelations and the much more startling disclosures emanating from the Pennsylvania primary. While this does not justify abandoning direct nominations, the necessity of limitation of expenditures both by the imposition of legal restrictions and by removing the incentives for heavy expenditures is clearly indicated.

9. The present system of registration is absurd and

should be immediately replaced by a permanent central registering system.

10. The present method of securing places on the county ballot produces grave scandals. Rotation on the ballot should be required for all offices.

11. The present method of choosing election officials does not prevent fraud, voting is hazardous, and counting the ballot almost certain to be inaccurate.

12. The primary law is full of technical loopholes, and if retained at all in its present form, should be thoroughly revised.

This statement of findings completes the task with which this study has been concerned. It was designed to present a realistic picture of the nominating process as found in a particular election, with the purpose of supplying the basis for a sound view of its nature and an appraisal of its value. A diagnosis of this particular civic situation was sought, not a cure. For the extremely necessary task of prescribing remedies a new set of experts must be called in; this factual analysis should stop short of the field of political empiricism. It has, of course, been impossible to avoid entirely the temptation to suggest correctives for the evils which have been pointed out. The thorough revision, in accordance with the best comparative standards, of the laws regulating registration and balloting, as well as a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the primary law itself have been advocated. The reorganization and consolidation of local governing agencies, with provision for a short ballot and a genuine merit system, have been urged as essential ingredients of any scheme of improvement. The dependence of all such proposals upon a reawakening of civic interest which in

the long run will require a new type of civic education has been recognized. Furthermore, in selecting from these rather drastic remedies a possible program for immediate achievement, the forces of civic betterment must bear in mind that little can be achieved without organization approaching in effectiveness that of the professional groups which will bitterly contest every effort to oust them from control of office and its spoils. And, in the meantime, the encouragement of the existing voluntary civic agencies as nuclei for such an organization is clearly advisable.

Such proposals have formed part of the stock in trade of the political scientists for many years. They are repeated here because of their peculiar appropriateness to the Chicago situation and because the forces of good government seem threatened with political checkmate unless a decided move is made along one or more of these lines. What, however, is to be said of probably the most pressing of the questions discussed—the fate of the direct primary system itself? Has its operation been so imperfect, has its divergence from the remedial course expected of it been so great, that it should be entirely abandoned and nominations by party conventions restored? The movement in this direction stimulated by the Pennsylvania and Illinois revelations was only a reinforcement of tendencies already existing. The regular party and factional chiefs as a whole disapprove of the direct canvass, considering it an expensive, trouble-breeding, and unnecessary interference with their prerogative of naming the “people’s servants.” It must not be forgotten that in 1907 twenty-nine leaders of the Republican organization signed a round-robin protesting

against the adoption of the direct primary, a list including, besides Fred Busse, William Lorimer, and Fred Lundin, such present-day stalwarts as John F. Devine, Edward J. Brundage, William H. Weber, and William Busse.¹ At that same time the Sullivan Democratic organization was equally hostile. It is doubtful if twenty-odd years of experience with the primary has materially altered the views of these gentlemen. Mr. Brennan's view is, apparently, precisely that of his former chief. Mr. Deneen did not give expression to an opinion about the primary system of which he was a chief author, but one of his ward leaders, Frank P. Murphy, Forty-first Ward committeeman, announced shortly after the primary that he had a draft of a law ready for submission to the legislature, restoring the convention system. His bill, in effect, would restore the system contemplated by the law of 1906, with provisions for optional instructions to delegates, the instructions to be binding, if given, for five ballots. Mr. Murphy's complaint against the primary law was to the effect that it "takes away every safeguard that has surrounded the rights of the individual voter in the selection of his party's candidates. The choice of candidates is dictated now by a few leaders. The voters are not consulted. They must either vote for the candidates dictated by the leaders or not vote at all. It was never intended that in Illinois we should have foisted upon us a government of the people 'by the leaders and for the leaders.'"²

¹ *Legislative Voters' League, Forty-Fifth Assembly, Preliminary Report*, Chicago, 1908.

² Article in *Jefferson Park Weekly*, quoted in the *News*, May 19.

While Mr. Murphy's diagnosis was in a sense sound, one wonders how the domination of the leaders would be reduced by taking away the sole check on their uncontrolled activities now possessed by the voters. The convention system was abolished as the result of an overwhelming conviction that it was inconsistent with sound and responsible government and fatal to the ideal of a democratic society. With the added complications resulting from another score of years of rapid progress in all fields of civic life, what magic is to be called forth by which a system inadequate then is to be a sovereign remedy now? It is as if, the antidote for a poison failing, one is advised to cure himself with added draughts of the poison. The memories of the voters may indeed be short, but it should not be difficult to refresh them by reference to the unsavory record of nominations under the earlier system, written large across the pages of our municipal history. In a *Tribune* cartoon the primary was pictured as a bobbed-haired, cigarette-smoking wife, dancing jazzily with politicians, while her husband—the citizen—is wondering if he did not make a mistake in divorcing, twenty years ago, his plain-featured but sober spouse of earlier days, the convention system. There was one serious error in this portraiture. Time and absence had no doubt obscured the dissipated and dissolute lines in the face of the almost forgotten bride; the citizen seemed to have banished from his reflections the fact that the grounds for his divorce had been held valid by the final court of appeal—the people themselves. Party politics may be in the "jazz age" now, but with due respect to the anti-Volsteadeans that is infinitely prefer-

able to the saloon age. Primaries may flirt with discredited politicians, but at all events they have been largely freed from their associations with legalized vice and open corruption. The findings of this study well warrant our joining in the chorus of discontent with existing conditions, but it does not follow that Mr. Murphy's solution is the correct one.

It needs to be pointed out, as we have already suggested, that the Illinois law is not particularly effective, as primary laws go. Extorted with difficulty from the politicians, treated roughly by the courts, framed, indeed, as Mr. George E. Cole said of the 1908 law, for the express purpose of being declared unconstitutional, it is not surprising that it does not work well. Originally conceived as a reform for Chicago alone, with provisions relating to the state as a whole added later, the nominating system remains a piece of legal patchwork sadly in need of being replaced by a whole cloth of better material. The experience of other states, the excellent work accomplished by those students who have analyzed the operation of the laws of New Jersey, Maine, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, and other states have supplied materials for the reconstruction of the Illinois law, if our legislators were but willing to undertake the task.

Much of the present clamor comes from the politicians, who, having loaded down the primary with provisions designed to impair its efficiency, are now proclaiming that "we told you it wouldn't work." But "why surrender to the bosses?" inquires the *Daily News*.

Critics of the direct primary should help to put into effect feasible methods of eliminating the evil features that have been

permitted to develop in connection with it. Reversion to the convention system is also reversion to the intolerable abuses which caused revolt and led to the wide-spread adoption of the direct primary system.

Party bosses having defiled the direct primary, now are trying to persuade the people to let them have unlimited control of party affairs according to the old simple formula. The better way is for the people actually to exercise control after destroying existing abuses.³

It may be that a wisely reformed primary system will still operate in an unsatisfactory manner. But even should that be true no just ground for disappointment will exist. No mere change in the legal mechanism will serve to usher in a political millenium. The direct primary represents simply a stage in the progressive adjustment of political mechanisms to the changing needs of our developing civilization. In such an evolutionary process there is rarely a sharp turn backward, as a return to the convention would be. When the primary has had its day some new and more highly refined mechanism for registering political opinion will capture the fancy of the electorate—perhaps non-partisan nominations, perhaps proportional representation, perhaps a device yet undreamed of. There is no need to despair of the future of our civic society—if only the citizen will vigorously participate in its activities, using the intelligence that he possesses and the knowledge that can be imparted to him by sound political education. Only his whole-hearted co-operation is required to assure the ushering in of a new day of civic competence and political righteousness.

³ Editorial, August 6.

APPENDIX A

THE SLATES AND BALLOTS

I. CROWE-BARRETT SAMPLE BALLOT

Specimen Ballot for use in

2nd Congressional Dist. Ward 6
13th Senatorial Dist. Prec. 28 to 49

UNITED STATES SENATOR (Vote for One) ☒ WM. B. MCINLEY ☐ FRANK L. SMITH STATE TREASURER (Vote for One) ☐ I. J. BROWN ☐ JOSEPH P. KILDEFF ☒ GARRETT D. KINNEY ☐ WILLIAM J. STRATTON SUPT. OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (Vote for One) ☒ FRANCIS G. BLAIR CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT (Vote for One) ☒ ULYSSES G. LEE ☐ CHARLES W. WALL REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS State at Large (Vote for Three) ☐ FREDERICK W. BEACH ☐ WM. E. H. MILLER ☒ HENRY R. RATHBONE ☐ HARVEY BINDLINGER ☐ JULIAN J. BYRKE ☐ RICHARD YATES CLERK OF THE APPELLATE COURT First District (Vote for One) ☒ FRANCIS P. BRADY ☐ WILLIAM W. GOOTTE ☐ OTTO F. BINGO REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS Second Congressional District (Vote for One) ☐ MORTON D. RULL STATE CENT. COMMITTEEMAN Second Congressional District (Vote for One) ☐ FRED. W. PATTERSON ☒ CHARLES RINGER ☐ EDWIN B. DAVIS ☐ WILLIAM J. WARFIELD STATE SENATOR Thirteenth District (Vote for One) ☐ OTTIE D. A. DAHLBERG ☐ HARRY W. STARR ☒ CLARENCE S. PIGGOTT ☐ CARL FOSTIN ☐ RICHARD F. BARRETT REPRESENTATIVE IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY Thirteenth Senatorial District (Vote for One) ☒ E. J. SCHICKENBERG ☐ THEO. D. SMITH ☐ JOHN C. OAKRIOTT, JR. ☐ HARRY P. OABEL MEMBER SENATORIAL COMMITTEE Thirteenth Senatorial District (Vote for Three) ☒ JAMES B. CONDIT ☒ HARRY L. LATHE ☐ HARRY VANDERBILT ☐ HENRY M. POLITE ☐ CHARLES HIRSCHFELD ☐ OTTO CROWWALL ☐ EMIL SOMMANNON TRUSTEE FOR THE SANITARY DISTRICT OF CHICAGO (Vote for Three) ☒ LAWRENCE P. KING ☐ MORRIS ELLER ☐ CHARLES E. GRAYDON ☐ ALEXANDER TODD ☐ JOHN WATKINS ☐ BENJAMIN L. FINNEY ☐ OLY GUERNSEY ☐ ABEL P. ALBERT ☐ JOHN J. THOM ☐ HENRY DREUNE ☐ EDWIN J. LEWIS ☐ WILLIAM P. CLEFF	JUDGE OF THE COUNTY COURT (Vote for One) ☒ JOSEPH P. SAVAGE ☐ DANIEL P. TRUDE SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ GEORGE B. ARNOLD ☐ CHARLES J. PETERS TREASURER OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ GEORGE F. HARDING ☐ JOHN P. DEVINE COUNTY CLERK AND CLERK OF THE COUNTY COLES OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ LE ROY MILLNER ☐ WM. C. ROSEBURY JUDGE OF THE PROBATE COURT OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ GEORGE H. BOUGH ☐ THOMAS J. HOLMES CLERK OF THE PROBATE COURT OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ GEORGE HITZMAN ☐ HOW LAUFENHEIMER ☐ FRANK A. ROSENBAUM CLERK OF THE CRIMINAL COURT OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ JOHN H. PASSMORE ☐ GEORGE PATRICK COUNTY SUPT. OF SCHOOLS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ MINNIE WHITHAM ☐ CHRISTIAN PETERSON MEMBER BOARD OF ALLEGATIONS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (For Full Term) ☒ ADAM WOLF ☒ CENE G. OLIVER ☐ ERNEST B. GRABAM ☐ FRANK G. RADDER MEMBER BOARD OF ALLEGATIONS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (For Full Term) ☒ TITUS HAFFA ☐ THOMAS A. BOYER MEMBER BOARD OF REVIEW OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ CHARLES V. BARRETT ☐ WM. F. SCHWEITZER ☐ OSCAR WOLFF	PRES. OF BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for One) ☒ FRANCIS L. BOUTELL ☐ WILLIAM BUSSE ☐ CHARLES DUDOLF ☐ CHARLES P. BLAINE HUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK (Vote for Ten) ☒ FRANCIS L. BOUTELL ☒ JOHN W. GIBSON ☒ JOHN A. PELKA ☒ ANDREW C. METZGER ☒ CHAS. S. PETERSON ☒ LOUIS E. GOLAN ☒ HENRY S. GOINS ☒ HARRY A. NEWBY ☒ LOUIS METTELHORST ☒ CHARLES L. GERDS ☒ WILLIAM H. HERSEY ☒ MORRIS STODOLMAN ☒ CHARLES P. BLAINE ☒ CHARLES N. GOODNOW ☒ CHARLES H. ROBERG ☒ EDWARD E. ELMORE ☒ WILLIAM S. BRADMAN ☒ JOSEPH ESPRITO ☒ LEON M. NOVAK ☒ R. M. MENDELBOHN ☒ RUDOLPH MULLAU ☒ WILLIAM O. THORSEN ☒ JOHN THOMPSON ☒ GEORGE A. STROG ☒ HARRY E. MCDITH ☒ FRED. H. PLATT ☒ EDWARD A. BURNELL ☒ NATHAN GINSBURG ☒ JAMES J. BULLIVAN ☒ JOHN T. BILEY, JR. ☒ DANNY WOODMAN ☒ JOSEPH P. BURNS ☒ WILLIAM J. WATLEY ABSOLUTE JUDGES OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF CHICAGO (For the Full Term of Six Years) (Vote for Twelve) ☒ JOHN A. BUGEE ☐ JOSEPH P. BUKER ☐ ARTHUR CARLSTEN ☐ ROBERT L. COHAN ☐ LEO COHN ☐ LEO P. DAY ☐ FRED. W. ELLIOTT ☐ ALFRED O. ERICKSON ☐ F. LEROY FAIRBANK ☐ EDWIN A. FELDOTT ☐ WILLIAM R. FETZER ☐ ROBERT E. GENTZEL ☐ J. KENT GREENE ☐ HENRY F. HEIZER ☐ SAMUEL HELLER ☐ GEORGE B. HOLMES ☐ FREDERICK R. HUMER ☐ SABATO INCOLATA ☐ LAURENCE S. JACOBS ☐ RICH. B. JOHNSON ☐ SAMUEL B. KING ☐ HARRY KLATZCO ☐ LEO KLEIN ☐ SYL. J. KONENKAMP ☐ EDWARD H. LUBBECK ☐ JOHN R. MCABE ☐ EUGENE MCCAFFREY ☐ ROBERT E. MCILLAN ☐ HENRY O. MORAN ☐ WILLIAM L. MORDAN ☐ JOHN S. SCHARBANO ☐ JOS. W. SCHULMAN ☐ MORTON J. STEVENSON ☐ OSCAR THOMANDER ☐ SAMUEL H. THUNE ☐ HENRY M. WALKER ☐ ARA O. ADAMS ☐ HARVEY M. ADAMS ☐ S. C. ARMSTRONG ☐ HERBERT W. AUW ☐ WM. RICHARD BRAND
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The candidates marked thus ☒ were endorsed and nominated by the Committee of 250 and the Regular Republican Convention and are anti-Lundin-Deneen candidates

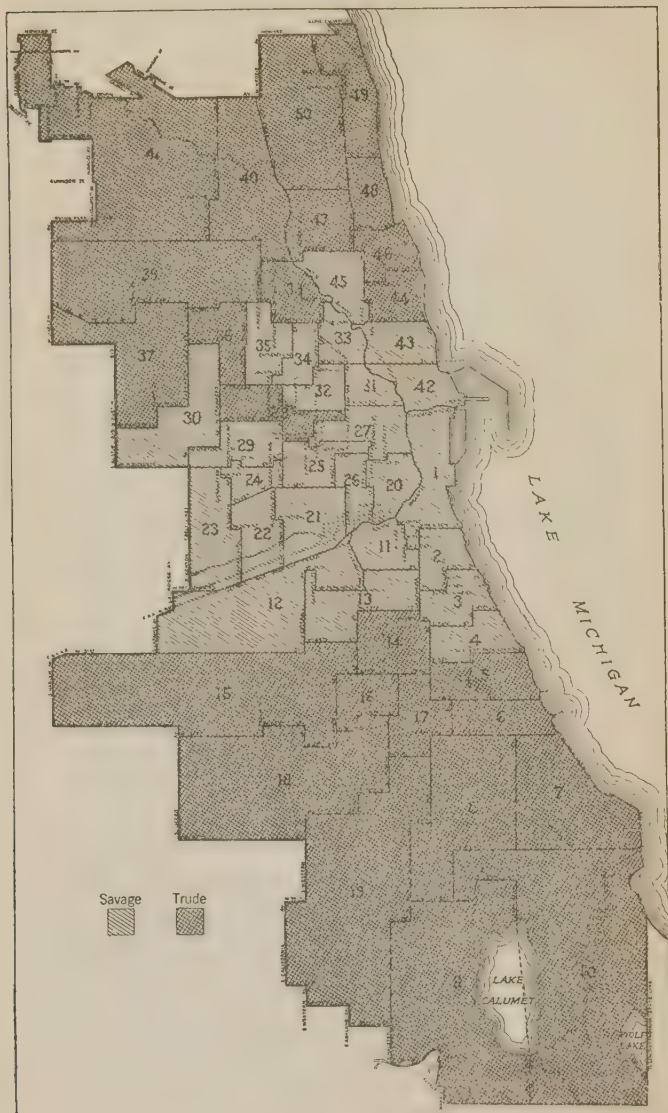
APPENDIX B

REPUBLICAN VOTE BY WARDS, SELECTED VOTES, WITH MAP*

WARD	U.S. SENATOR		COUNTY JUDGE		COUNTY TREASURER		PRES. COUNTY BOARD		COUNTY COMMISSIONER BOUTELL
	Mc-Kinley	Smith	Savage	Trude	Harding	Devine	Busse	Boutell	
1.....	904	3,223	3,377	731	3,452	561	760	2,626	2,939
2.....	4,809	7,165	6,780	3,736	7,211	2,752	2,638	5,040	6,201
3.....	6,150	7,034	5,925	5,421	6,994	3,643	3,892	4,445	5,294
4.....	6,150	5,574	6,319	5,556	7,868	3,596	3,550	5,629	6,602
5.....	7,160	4,244	4,394	6,946	5,944	4,943	4,853	4,215	5,987
6.....	6,064	3,770	3,909	5,788	5,313	3,967	3,984	3,613	5,311
7.....	5,825	4,427	3,313	6,612	5,276	4,217	4,759	3,118	4,810
8.....	4,470	5,037	3,140	6,082	4,907	4,077	4,553	3,085	4,481
9.....	2,328	3,588	1,834	3,930	2,630	2,896	2,979	1,406	2,346
10.....	910	4,258	1,639	3,247	2,285	2,425	2,350	1,320	1,787
11.....	1,358	3,117	2,767	1,611	2,729	1,476	1,444	2,035	2,645
12.....	2,244	8,039	7,150	2,847	7,044	2,597	2,456	6,110	6,956
13.....	771	1,752	1,464	1,044	1,545	679	903	1,427	1,606
14.....	1,658	2,341	1,460	2,160	1,692	1,743	1,772	1,083	1,402
15.....	3,014	5,070	3,643	4,334	4,529	3,162	3,566	2,859	3,888
16.....	2,570	3,930	2,973	3,272	3,683	2,454	2,625	2,591	3,288
17.....	4,563	3,656	2,776	5,147	3,615	3,882	3,970	2,491	3,503
18.....	3,019	4,376	3,359	3,812	4,163	2,762	3,145	2,735	3,745
19.....	6,720	4,659	3,835	7,312	5,402	5,264	5,890	3,064	4,888
20.....	217	7,212	6,982	392	7,008	354	412	6,755	6,464
21.....	1,109	5,869	5,528	1,304	5,397	1,030	1,087	5,057	5,050
22.....	1,021	2,060	1,753	1,172	1,765	986	871	1,494	1,795
23.....	2,522	2,355	2,803	2,280	2,874	1,934	2,021	2,309	2,798
24.....	1,923	3,083	3,169	1,928	2,900	1,827	1,886	2,475	3,179
25.....	1,757	2,416	2,777	1,627	2,332	1,767	1,643	1,951	2,505
26.....	787	3,895	3,854	801	3,781	786	901	3,248	3,469
27.....	7,737	3,055	9,469	1,406	8,180	1,782	2,067	8,173	8,604
28.....	3,079	4,509	3,763	3,835	4,002	3,129	3,233	2,848	3,812
29.....	2,969	6,331	6,687	2,723	6,208	2,649	2,303	5,496	6,095
30.....	3,983	8,735	8,239	4,473	8,199	4,068	3,614	6,911	8,084
31.....	934	2,931	2,785	935	2,587	941	730	2,518	2,752
32.....	1,672	2,480	2,370	1,664	2,128	1,550	1,513	1,690	2,126
33.....	576	2,368	2,148	796	1,984	809	620	1,842	2,030
34.....	1,550	2,334	2,127	1,733	2,217	1,472	1,465	1,636	2,074
35.....	2,392	3,924	3,020	3,016	3,336	2,536	2,387	2,393	3,182
36.....	2,713	5,346	3,936	4,170	4,086	4,049	3,405	3,230	4,286
37.....	5,089	6,858	5,465	7,080	5,535	5,904	6,125	4,201	6,247
38.....	2,242	3,168	2,394	2,807	2,547	2,552	2,445	1,893	2,571
39.....	3,750	6,200	4,758	4,854	4,890	4,601	4,053	3,731	5,118
40.....	6,177	5,141	4,419	6,691	5,377	5,377	5,383	3,566	5,753
41.....	4,995	5,540	5,000	5,510	5,981	4,258	4,613	4,133	5,750
42.....	2,049	4,803	4,063	2,635	4,511	2,123	2,787	2,452	3,592
43.....	2,988	3,895	3,752	3,204	4,150	2,434	2,521	3,013	4,071
44.....	4,015	3,937	3,804	3,988	4,654	2,939	2,898	3,790	4,761
45.....	2,130	2,893	5,060	1,958	3,367	1,447	1,719	2,607	3,166
46.....	3,903	4,599	3,990	4,146	4,705	3,160	3,085	3,612	4,898
47.....	4,335	6,883	5,398	5,536	4,446	4,123	4,689	4,992	6,250
48.....	4,722	4,490	4,094	5,094	5,130	3,684	2,852	5,267	6,046
49.....	7,342	5,150	4,727	7,739	5,999	6,080	5,512	5,034	7,080
50.....	4,691	4,880	3,792	5,490	4,831	4,082	4,242	3,840	5,023
Total...	166,568	222,548	200,249	180,475	224,293	141,537	143,210	170,695	215,740

* See p. 284.

OFFICIAL VOTE FOR COUNTY JUDGE, BY WARDS



APPENDIX C

I. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF PRIMARY LEGISLATION

- 1885. Optional Delegate Primary Law.
- 1898. Delegate Primary Law, compulsory in Cook County: two primaries a year, on separate days for each party, in districts fixed by party committees, ballots privately supplied. Amended in 1901 and 1903.
- 1905. Statewide Compulsory Delegate Primary Law: advisory voted on candidates, including United States senator; optional direct primary for county offices, except in Cook County; primaries for all parties on same day; ballots privately supplied.
- 1906. Foregoing law declared unconstitutional: legislative power unconstitutionally delegated to party committees; special legislation in that separate provisions were made for counties over and under 125,000 population.
- 1906. Second Statewide Compulsory Delegate Primary Law: delegate ballots privately supplied; official primary ballot providing advisory vote for United States senator and county offices, and instructions by plurality vote for state, congressional, and legislative candidates.
- 1907. Foregoing law declared unconstitutional: powers illegally conferred on party committees; rights of voters abridged by registration provisions, and by provision allowing only one candidate for state representative to be voted for.
- 1908. Direct Primary Law, for all except a few minor offices; conventions retained to nominate for the excepted offices, adopt platforms, and choose delegates to higher conventions.
- 1909. Foregoing law declared unconstitutional: registration provisions deprived certain persons of the right to vote; the direct primary is an election and hence the vote for representative must be cumulative.

- 1910. Two Direct Primary Laws: General and Legislative: separated provisions relative to legislative offices from those dealing with other nominations; unconstitutional features of 1908 law corrected.
- 1913. Revision of General and Legislative Laws: list of officers nominated directly enlarged; office of ward committeeman for Chicago created; delegates to national nominating conventions named in the primary; names of candidates for nominations for state offices to rotate on the ballot.
- 1917. Convention nomination restored for circuit judges.
- 1919. Superior judges in Cook County to be nominated by convention.
- 1919. Complete revision of primary laws, increasing powers of party committees.
- 1920. Foregoing law held unconstitutional: unlawfully delegated powers to party committees; gave wards unequal voting power in county committees.
- 1921. Non-partisan election of aldermen in Chicago.
- 1925. Direct nomination restored for superior judges and circuit judges in Cook County only; rotation on ballot for names of candidates for superior and circuit judges in Cook County and municipal judges in Chicago.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF REPUBLICAN FACTIONAL HISTORY IN CHICAGO

- 1904. Deneen elected governor; Small elected state treasurer.
- 1907. Busse elected mayor.
- 1909. Lorimer elected United States senator.
- 1911. Busse, discredited, ends term as mayor.
- 1912. Lorimer ousted from Senate; Deneen defeats Small for nomination for governor, but loses to Dunne on account of Progressive split.
- 1915. Thompson, with Lorimer-Lundin support, defeats Olson, with Deneen-Brundage support, for Republican nomination for mayor; elected over Sweitzer, regular Democratic candidate. Lundin becomes head of City Hall machine.

- 1916. Medill McCormick elected congressman-at-large; Brundage elected attorney-general.
- 1918. McCormick defeats Thompson in senatorial primary and is elected; Barrett becomes county reviewer.
- 1919. Thompson again defeats Olson in primary and Sweitzer in election.
- 1920. Small becomes governor; Crowe becomes state's attorney; Brundage re-elected attorney-general.
- 1921. Interest suits, criminal and civil, started against Small.
- 1922. Small acquitted in criminal suit; Crowe breaks with Thompson, indicts Lundin, but latter is acquitted. Crowe-Barrett combination formed.
- 1923. Thompson fails to run for mayor; Lueder nominated, but defeated by Dever.
- 1924. Deneen, with aid from Small and Thompson, defeats McCormick, supported by Crowe, Barrett, and Brundage, for the senatorial nomination; Small re-elected governor; Brundage defeated by Carlstrom for attorney-general.
- 1925. McCormick dies; Thompson breaks with Lundin; Lundin becomes Small's patronage broker; harmony negotiations in Cook County fail.
- 1926. Realignments for county campaign: Small and Lundin support Deneen; Thompson joins Crowe, Barrett, and Brundage.

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The Chicago primary of 1926.

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DATE	ISSUED TO
MAY 9 1956	R. Bryson
JUN 2 1958	P. Leskiewicz
JUL 15 1959	M. Borders
NOV 23 1960	Sally Clod
OCT 1 1 1961	Judy D.
OCT 2 5 1961	Judy
NOV 8 1961	Bryson
FEB 2 6 1962	
MAR 7 1972	3216
APR	
APR	

